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UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

The French Language Services Act and Ontario Community Colleges

BY

Andrée Lortie

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Education.

IN

Administration of Post-secondary Education

Department of Educational Administration

EDMONTON, ALBERTA

SPRING 1992

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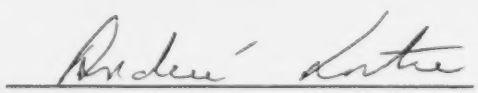

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FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research for acceptance, a thesis entitled The French Language Services Act and Ontario Community Colleges submitted by Andrée Lortie in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Education in Educational Administration.

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Abstract

The study attempts to provide insights into the changes in French language college education in Ontario because of the implementation of the French Language Services Act, 1986. Through an interpretive approach, it describes the world, after the Act, of two groups of senior decision makers responsible for policy and implementation, college presidents and ministry officials. Both groups extensively discuss their interpretation of the Act, the impacts which they believe the Act has had on college education in Ontario and the issues which they foresee for both French language college education and the college system because of the Act.

In order to ensure a high level of credibility, the methodology is extensively discussed. To permit a better understanding of events at that time, the author provides some background as to the situation of French-speaking minorities outside of Quebec as well as a description of the state of minority education at all levels of the learning continuum.

The study unveils a complex reality which is viewed very differently by college presidents and ministry officials. It tells of the difficulty of letting go, of the challenges of coming of age, of a vision of Canada which may be threatened. Not only does it attempt to provide an understanding of the changes occurring in French language education in Ontario between 1986 and 1989 but it permits a glimpse of what it was to be a Canadian then.

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CHAPTER 1 -- INTRODUCTION

The Legislative Assembly of Ontario passed Bill 8, which took effect on November 18, 1986 as the French Language Services Act, 1986.

The preamble to the Act describes the historical, constitutional and legislative background of this legislation. While relatively short, it sets the tone and clearly indicates the Ontario Government desire to preserve both French culture and language in Ontario.

> Whereas the French language is an historic and honoured language in Ontario and recognized by the Constitution as an official language in Canada; and whereas in Ontario the French language is recognized as an official language in the courts and in education; and whereas the Legislative Assembly recognized the contribution of the cultural heritage of the French-speaking population and wishes to preserve it for future generations; and whereas it is desirable to guarantee the use of the French language in institutions of the Legislature and the Government of Ontario, as provided in this Act. (Gouvernement de l'Ontario, 1986, p. 2)

The Act is intended to ensure that the Government of Ontario provides services in French. Under the Act, a person now has the right to communicate in French and to receive available services in French from any central office of a government agency or institution of the legislature. A person also has that same right in certain areas of Ontario where because of demographics there exists a need for French language services. Those areas are said to be "designated." It should be noted that Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology, which are central to this study, are specifically excluded from this Act unless designated as a public agency by the regulations. To quote the Act

> A Ministry of the Government of Ontario, except a psychiatric facility, residential facility, or a college of applied arts and technology that is administered by a Ministry is not included unless it is designated as a public service agency by the regulations. (1986, p. 2)

The Act emphasizes the duties that come under the Minister responsible for Francophone Affairs and the powers vested in the Ontario French Language Services Commission, which include the power to recommend the designation of public services agencies and the addition of designated areas to the Schedule. Under the terms of the Act, Ontario's community colleges may therefore be designated as agencies providing services in French by order of the Lieutenant Governor in Council. Designation in this context is taken to mean colleges which are identified as legally responsible for providing services in French.

In June 1987, the Honourable Bernard Grandmaître, Minister responsible for Francophone Affairs, in an address to the members of the Conseil provincial de l'Association canadienne-française de l'Ontario, announced the criteria for designation. These criteria were developed by the Ontario French Language Services Commission. To qualify for designation, community colleges had to submit an action plan for approval that met the following requirements: (a) permanence and quality of French services, (b) adequate access to these services, (c) effective representation of Francophones on the agency's Board of Directors and on all its committees, (d) effective representation of Francophones at various levels of management within the agency, (e) accountability of the Board of Directors and senior officials for French-language services which must be specified in the agency's by-laws and in its administrative procedures.

In addition to these five basic criteria, the Minister announced two specific criteria for Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology: (a) participation of Francophones in the activities of the Board of Governors. At no time may the number of representatives be less than five, and this number must reflect

the percentage of the population served by the institution. These representatives are to be granted full authority over programs and services delivered in French; (b) establishment of a Conseil collégial francophone (Francophone College Council).

This passing of the French Language Services Act constitutes a major change of direction for the Government of Ontario, which to date has provided, but not guaranteed, services in French to its official language minority. In an interview given in the Fall of 1987, the then Premier of Ontario David Peterson clearly stated the intent of the Act and its importance for the Francophone community of Ontario.

> We feel the Franco-Ontarian community is a dynamic community whose future is important to us. That community has always felt alienated; it has always felt it has not received a fair shake. . . . I want French-speaking Ontario to be completely integrated; I want it to participate fully in decisions and to be able to exert influence in all fields. . . . I think that once it is fully in effect, the French Language Services Act will be a major step forward. (Cantin, 1987, p. 18)

It should be noted that there are distinct differences between this Act and the Federal Official Languages Act. Ontario will have no positions designated "bilingual." This Act is not designed to make the provincial civil service bilingual. It is exclusively designed to provide services in French. To quote the then Chairman of the French Language Services Commission, "In Ontario, English will continue to be the language of administration. . . . The Act itself doesn't mention bilingualism anywhere, just services in French" (Hood, 1988, p. 23).

In 1986, there were in Ontario 22 Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology (CAATs), six of which, Algonquin, Cambrian, Canadore, Niagara, Northern and St-Lawrence, were said to be "designated" to offer programs and

services in French. Before the French Language Services Act the term "designated" carried with it no legal obligation; rather it alluded to colleges which received additional funding to offer a number of French programs and services. A certain number of CAATs were also coined "en voie de développement," meaning that they did offer and receive funding for the continuing education French courses and French as a second language courses which they offered. In all, approximately 66 French programs were offered by Ontario's system of colleges as opposed to about 300 offered in English.

In September 1988, the Government of Ontario announced its intention to create a 23rd College of Applied Arts and Technology in Ottawa that would offer exclusively French programs and, in September 1988, La Cité collégiale opened its doors to 2300 full-time French language students. The Government also commissioned two major studies on the need for French language college education for two other regions of Ontario, the North and the Central, Southwestern. Decisions pertaining to these regions have yet to be announced.

Problem Statement

The proposed study is intended to provide insights into the changes in French language college education because of the implementation of the French Language Services Act. It will attempt to show how the Act, which was designed primarily for government agencies, might well transform the reality of French language college education in Ontario. To do so, three questions need to be answered:

1. How do college presidents and ministry officials interpret the Act as it pertains to Ontario community colleges?

2. What is the impact of the Act on college education according to college presidents and ministry officials?

3. According the college presidents and ministry officials, what issues may arise as a result of the Act?

Research Design

The research design is both descriptive and analytical, since the purpose of this study is to describe and analyze how the French Language Services Act, 1986, might change the reality of French language college education in Ontario. The design is consistent with the interpretive paradigm in that the study attempts to describe the world of the participants, to gain insights as to certain shared realities, and to reconstruct a vision that should permit a deeper understanding of French language college education in Ontario. It therefore makes use of qualitative methods in an attempt to develop a more comprehensive understanding of the thought, values, perceptions and actions of the participants. In order to gain a richer understanding of the reality being structured, one must see it through the eyes of the participants in order to understand their present points of view in context, and according to their value system. Close interaction between myself and the data was essential.

Significance

The study has both theoretical and practical significance. Little or no documentation exists on community colleges in Canada. Dennison states that "the story of the origins and developments of the college relies heavily on broad largely unassembled documentation" (Dennison & Gallagher, 1986, p. 6). In terms of French language college education outside of Quebec and specifically of Ontario French language college education, there exists very little

published research. Nancy Sheehan states that "We need studies . . . which link higher education to . . . regional pride, class struggle and national development. . . . Only then will we be in a position to develop a synthesis on the role of higher education in the Canadian society" (1985, p. 35).

From a practical perspective, the results of this study may yield insights useful to planners and administrators both at the Ministry of Colleges and Universities and in colleges in terms of the implementation of the French Language Services Act, 1986 and in terms of the future of French language college education in Ontario. Dr. Graham Collins, in his June 1988 report to the Minister of Colleges and Universities, identifies as a trend which he believes will have implications for the 1990's "the impact and appropriate response to Bill 8, the French language services bill" (1988, p. 40). Ontario must have the trained manpower necessary to implement the French Language Services Act. Community colleges will be required to play a major role in bringing this about.

In 1988 the Ontario Government announced its intention not only to create a 23rd CAAT, a first French language college, but also to study options which would provide a provincial answer to the issue of French language college education. In the next few years, Ontario politicians will have to decide whether or not to set up a network of French colleges, ministry officials will have to present options to the government that respect the language and spirit of the Act, some college presidents will have to participate in the transfer of staff from existing institutions to the new French college, college presidents will have to deal with new partners, Francophones will have to create a new college and Ontario society will be asked to accept this new reality of French

colleges. All may need credible data on which to make choices, to base decisions and to choose ways and means. This study may provide insights as to the important issues emerging from the Act, as to the real problems which all players will face, as to possible strategies that could ease a difficult transition period.

This study could also provide valuable insights to Francophones outside of Quebec in dealing with the challenge of French language college education. After decades of fighting for French language elementary and secondary education, Francophones outside of Quebec are now increasingly preoccupied with post-secondary education. Saskatchewan Francophones are presently examining options in terms of post-secondary education. The Nova Scotia government is in the process of creating a French-language college, Le Collège de l'Acadie. If French language college education outside Quebec is to respond to the expectations of its communities, minority groups will need to learn from their mutual experiences. But first the data must be available.

Assumptions

A major assumption of this study lies in the belief that the implementation of the French Language Services Act has and will change aspects of the present reality of French language college education in Ontario, for example, governance, delivery of services, funding and relationships. Another assumption, which accounts for my chosing this particular subject, is a strong personal belief that for French language and culture to survive and develop outside of Quebec, there needs to be a vigorous well entrenched network of French language homogenerous schools that span elementary to post-secondary.

Delimitations

This study has analyzed from the perspective of two target groups, college presidents and ministry officials, some of the policy and implementation implications of the French Language Services Act 1986 on Ontario French language college education. Other constituent groups such as managers, teachers, students, or Francophone associations were not included. The issue is therefore only described from the perspective of senior policy makers. The general perspective is that of Anglophones, not of Francophones. It should also be noted that data collection took place during the Spring of 1989 and that data analysis occurred in the Summer of 1991.

Limitations

This study occurred during a period of major change for French language college education in Ontario. Before the interviews took place, the Ontario Government had already announced the creation of a French language college in Ottawa. The situation was therefore emotional, highly explosive, with players sometimes feeling that they had to take sides and defend past records. Fear of recriminations, of biases were also part and parcel of the situation. Therefore, feedback on this issue may be affected unduly by immediate experiences and emotions.

As a very active participant in the whole issue of the implementation of the French Language Services Act, my description of this evolving reality may have been coloured by my beliefs, values and past experiences. As I worked on the analysis of data, as I entered more deeply in the worlds of the participants, my perception certainly evolved from one which was highly judgemental, to one of empathy and of greater understanding. Participants'

responses and feedback may also have been influenced by their perception of my role in this issue.

Overview of the Report

In a study such as this one, it seemed important for the reader to understand the context of the Francophone reality outside of Quebec. The literature review (chapter 2) therefore attempts to set the stage so that the reader will not only better understand, but will also achieve a greater empathy with the participants. The methodology (chapter 3), in a different way, also attempts to set the stage by reassuring the reader of the rigour and the consistency of the process. This is intended to create a climate of greater receptivity to the research findings. The analysis of data (chapter 4, 5 and 6) tries to draw the reader into the world of the participants: how did they interpret the Act, what did they see as impacts, what were the issues they identified? An attempt is made to portray a complex reality, a reality which is explored at numerous levels, which is accepted, contested, rejected, loved and hated. And finally the reader is presented with the researcher's interpretation of the reality which has been studied and dissected (chapter 7). One would hope that it would permit a more indepth understanding of events which may be transforming college education in Ontario and, from a larger perspective, possibly Ontario society.

CHAPTER 2 -- SETTING THE STAGE FOR UNDERSTANDING

The literature review sets the stage for the present study. It is intended to give background information on the reality of Francophones living outside of Quebec. It examines the situation of Francophones living outside of Quebec and the issues confronting them. It gives an overview of the state of Francophone minority education in Canada, and it specifically looks at Francophone minority post-secondary education.

Francophone minority education in Canada has almost always been a bone of contention, an object of struggle. This literature review attempts to provide some understanding of this issue.

Francophone Minorities Outside of Quebec

Bastarache, Braën, Didier and Foucher, (1986) define a linguistic minority in terms of numbers, common ideology and historical continuity when they state that, "une minorité linguistique n'est pas reconnue en raison seulement de son importance numérique. Il faut en outre que le groupe fasse preuve d'une certaine continuité historique et d'une certaine unité idéologique" (p. 8). They contend that if one is to study linguistic minorities one must look at State policies in terms of the protection of minorities. In a pluralistic society such as Canada, acceptance, recognition and support of linguistic diversity is a vital aspect of the protection of minority rights. Bastarache et al. believe that language is the vehicle of culture. "La langue est un phénomène nettement culturel. La Commission d'enquête sur le bilinguisme et le biculturalisme l'a bien fait ressortir dans son rapport. La culture est l'élément principal des caractéristiques propres à un groupe donné; la langue est le véhicule de cette

culture" (p. 16). Equality of treatment and distinct strategies are seen as essential to the protection of both the language and the culture of the linguistic minority.

> L'égalité des communautés linguistiques exige de l'État un traitement préférentiel destiné à préserver l'identité et l'existence du groupe minoritaire, en tant que collectivité, par exemple, la reconnaissance en faveur des membres du groupe minoritaire du droit à l'enseignement dans leur langue. (1986, p. 23)

More than twenty years after the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism and the Official Languages Act some feel cause for optimism. In his 1988-1989 "Annual Report on Official Languages" the Official Languages Commissioner concludes that

> Canada's linguistic evolution is an ongoing process. Enriching and preserving the vitality of a dimension as fundamental to the future of our country as its official languages is an undertaking that is never finished. New problems, or rather new challenges will continue to arise . . . Large or small, these issues -- which relate to the survival and growth of the minority linguistic communities, to Canadians's acceptance and appreciation of the two official languages, to the relevance and availability of services and government support, and to the development of understanding between the various cultural components of Canada -- will remain vital. In any event, progress has been and will continue to be made on a number of fronts. (Department of the Secretary of State of Canada, 1989, pp. 77, 78)

Recent studies on public acceptance of official bilingualism indicate that Canadians are now much more supportive. A national survey of public opinion prepared by Canadian Facts in September 1985 for the Office of the Commission of Official Languages and involving interviews with more than 4,000 Canadians concludes that,

> a major shift in English-Canadian attitudes toward language reform is underway, led by the young. Compared with previous generations of Anglophones, the youth of English Canada now hold views of Canada's official languages which are much closer to the attitudes of Quebecers. Far more than their elders, they support the provision of minority-

> language services and are generally more sensitive to all aspects of language reform. (Churchill & Smith, 1986, p. 5)

Having discussed what they describe as an "Emerging consensus," Churchill and Smith (1987) reflect on Canadians' perception of bilingualism:

> Language is seen as our Pandora's box. We store it in the nation's capital. We have gilded the lid. We have inscribed magical phrases on it, in both languages, with a pleasing symmetry so that neither language appears superior to the other. It has become our most important national symbol, and we give it pride of place on state occasions when we practice bilingualism as a rite. Yet we fear to open the lid lest the ills of the past spill out to destroy the future. (p. 8)

They contend that "the time has come to stop talking about 'official bilingualism' and 'language equality' and to start talking about institutions serving the English and French minorities in their own language" (p. 8).

But all is not perfect in Paradise. Bastarache et al. (1986), in describing the state of linguistic rights of Francophones outside Quebec, states that while New Brunswick adopted the "Loi sur les langues officielles du Nouveau-Brunswick" at the end of the 60's, Ontario's history has been characterized by a negation of the linguistic rights of the largest Francophone minority in Canada and that there exists in all other provinces no real linguistic policies favouring the Francophone minority. Churchill, Frenette and Quazi (1985a) put the whole issue of assimilation in an historical perspective. Francophones outside of Quebec have had to live with deliberate political and social actions and inactions which threatened their survival. Today, in spite of a much more favorable public opinion, they have to contend with the greater threat of modern technology and sociological change.

> Pour le Canadien français qui habite en dehors du Québec, le phénomène du bilinguisme n'est qu'un symbole d'un problème plus large: celui d'être partout et toujours minoritaire. C'est un être dont l'existence même est mise en doute à chaque minute. Dans le passé, la menace venait, en

> forme claire et univoque, d'un processus politique et social qui laissait tous ses droits les plus fondamentaux à la merci d'une majorité qui tenait sa culture pour inférieure et sa survivance comme la preuve de l'échec de leurs politiques éclairées d'assimilation. Aujourd'hui, même si la législation de plusieurs provinces perpétue cet état de choses, c'est l'évolution sociale moderne qui, en dépit d'une opinion publique beaucoup plus favorable aux francophones, attaque plus profondément encore les fondements de la culture française par le biais de l'afflux vers les régions urbaines, la pénétration dans les foyers de la télévision de langue anglaise et la disparition progressive d'une partie des traditions familiales, religieuses et communautaires. (1985a, p. 54)

Even in the 1980s, Francophones still tell a bleak story. One only has to listen to the following Francophone student telling her own very sad, but all too common story of assimilation.

> À l'âge de cinq ans, j'ai commencé ma première année à l'école. Pour moi et pour plusieurs de mes copains de classe, l'anglais était une langue étrangère, l'école primaire étant uniquement en français à part quelques cours en anglais. À ma connaissance, mon français se développait alors comme il se devait. Rendu à la septième année, oui, mes cours étaient encore presque entièrement en français, mais j'étais entouré d'anglais. Je voyais ma langue maternelle s'éteindre. Çà me tourmentait de ne pas pouvoir parler aisément avec mes parents même, dans ma langue maternelle, à bien dire, celle avec laquelle ils m'avaient donné la vie. Rendu à l'école secondaire, cette langue maternelle m'était presque devenue une langue étrangère. Je vois devant moi des jeunes et des amis qui vivent le même feeling. Où en sommes-nous rendus avec notre culture et notre langue dans nos écoles? Personnellement, je dois avouer que je les ai perdues. Je les retrouve petit à petit avec F.J.A. mais à l'école, l'ambiance n'est plus là. C'est çà l'assimilation, . . . et cette assimilation se poursuit dans nos institutions postsecondaires. (Watters, 1990, pp. 67-68).

Raymond Hébert (1989) confirms that this indeed is the situation of Francophones in the West and in the Territories when he asserts that if the test of the vitality of French-language minority communities in the West is to be the size and the degree to which they use French then they are in a "terrible situation."

> The 1981 census figures showed rates of assimilation (home language compared with mother tongue) of 44.26% in Manitoba, 63.75% in Saskatchewan and 57.6% in Alberta. Data from the 1986 census indicated

> that the rate of assimilation was continuing to spiral upwards, reaching 51.1% in Manitoba, 72.5% in Saskatchewan and 67.4% in Alberta. (p. 42)

In British Columbia the French speaking population, which number about 45,000, is "lagging far behind in terms of infrastructure and the situation of approximately 2000 Francophones in the Northwest Territories and the Yukon remains precarious" (p. 42). Raymond Mougeon (1984) agrees that indeed, this bleak situation is that of all Francophone minorities outside of Quebec.

> Analysis of the census data on mother tongue and languages spoken in the home reveals that French is being abandoned at an accelerated rate in provinces with an English-speaking majority. Of the 475,605 people for whom French was the mother tongue in Ontario, the proportion of those who spoke mainly English in the home grew from 27 per cent in 1971 to 34 per cent in 1981. It remains to be seen if French-language instruction has slowed down this phenomenon. At present, this is impossible to calculate because only since 1971 has the census taken into consideration the language spoken in the home. In order to have the necessary comparative data, we will have to wait until 1991. (p. 17)

Fear about the future, pessimism in terms of survival of language and culture, this certainly describes the perspective of many. Goldbloom and LeBlanc (1986) contends that Canadian society has not integrated the concept of linguistic duality.

> After analyzing the evolution of official languages in Canada, my team and I were tempted to paint a bleak portrait of the past fifteen years of bilingualism. We found that linguistic duality, as understood by Francophones outside Quebec, has only with great difficulty become part of the vision of Canadian society. It is evident, and unfortunate, that this noble undertaking is now in trouble. . . . The brutal truth is that official bilingualism is a Francophone concern, that the language of work is English and that French is the language of translation. (Goldbloom & LeBlanc, p. 11)

Théberge and Lafontant (1987), talking about the theme of the conference Demain, la Francophonie en milieu minoritaire, explains how the title itself poses a critical question. Will Francophones outside of Quebec survive? Every year numbers point to an increase in assimilation and linguistic transfers. For

some Francophone communities, the future is already jeopardized. Joseph Eliot Magnet (1987), who tells of a "moving finger . . . writing the obituary of Canada as a land where linguistic minorities thrive," goes on to say.

> With the single exception of New Brunswick, it is unlikely that any provincial government will voluntarily take significant initiatives to support the Francophones community outside Quebec. This is probably true even in the education sector, where there are as yet imprecise constitutional guarantees for French; but it is certainly true with respect to culture and governmental services, where constitutional guarantees are at best implicit, not express, and have not yet been tested before the Supreme Court. (p. 32)

Paul Ruest (1988) also states, "The anglophone population does not always readily understand the aspirations of the francophone minority. It tends to put French Canadians in the category of 'other ethnic groups' - effectively ignoring their privileged status in Canada" (p. 8). Goldbloom and LeBlanc (1986) sum up the fear of many when they state that "French-speaking communities outside Quebec are running out of time". (p. 8)

Francophone Minority Education in Canada

School and education are inextricably linked to survival of language and culture. They are seen as an essential tool of the minority language group. The report of the "Ministerial Commission in Ontario on Secondary Education in French" (Symons Report, 1972) most eloquently states that

> l'école tient une place centrale dans la vie culturelle de la minorité linguistique. Par conséquent, il est important pour l'épanouissement culturel de la population francophone que les écoles jouent la part la plus complète dans ce domaine. Les écoles de langues française doivent vraiment être des écoles au service de la communauté, facilement accessibles à l'ensemble de la population appartenant au groupe linguistique pour lequel elles ont été créées. Les comités de langue française, en collaboration avec les conseils scolaires doivent trouver les voies et moyens visant à garantir ce principe. (p. 51)

This principle is reiterated again and again. In Les Actes du colloque 1985, the Federation of Francophones outside of Quebec asserts that, "on reconnaît que les écoles assurent la transmission de la culture, et que la langue est un aspect fondamental de l'identité culturelle d'un groupe social" (p. 11). Théberge and Lafontant (1987) agree that "l'école française est sans contredit, un élément essentiel dans la survie du français en milieu minoritaire" (p. 61). Landry (1987) supports it when he states that "the cultural reproduction of a society or community is impossible without a certain degree of institutional support" (p. 109).

Many discuss the concept of a community school. Churchill et al. (1985a), in their study Le diagnostic d'un système d'éducation: palier élémentaire et secondaire, extensively discusses cultural isolation and the role of community schools. Claudette Tardif (1989) also adds that,

> the concept of a community school, providing a strong link between education, language and the community, is necessarily interwoven with the concept of 'des établissements d'enseignement de la minorité.' For Francophones in a minority seating, the school is often the only lieu outside the home where they can meet in their language and culture. This is not the case for the English-speaking community, which has a wider sphere of resources in which to engage in their cultural activities and pursuits. Francophone parents view the concept of a community Francophone school as essential in assuring the ethnolinguistic vitality of the Francophone community and the Francophone school. (p. 21)

Many hopes and expectations are put on French language schools. Mougeon, Hiller, Beniak and Canale (1984), allude to this.

> En 1968, l'Ontario légalisait l'emploi du français comme langue d'instruction dans les écoles publiques. Cette mesure entraîna la mise sur pied d'un système d'écoles secondaires de langue française déjà en place à l'élémentaire. À cette époque on espérait que l'instruction en français du début de l'élémentaire à la fin du secondaire aurait pour effet de ralentir sinon d'arrêter l'assimilation de la minorité francophone de l'Ontario à la majorité anglophone de cette province. (p. 316)

Stopping, or at least slowing down assimilation is an overwhelming challenge for the French language school. Even within the context of French schools, it cannot be assumed that the minority language child has as well established language skill as a majority language child. Mougeon et al. discuss the cohabitation of the three groups, "les franco-dominants, les bilingues, les anglo-dominants" (p. 317), in term of the possible conflict between the mastery of the French language and the need to have a positive impact on assimilation.

The whole on-going minority school debate has revolved around the issue of cultural survival of the minority group versus economic survival and growth in a majority environment. LeBlanc (1988), when he talks of the five types of schools available to Francophone children outside of Quebec - "l'école homogène française, l'école bilingue, l'école mixte, l'école d'immersion et l'école homogène anglaise" - describes the issue not only in terms of constraints imposed by the majority group, as seen in the lack of access to French schools but also in terms of the choices made by Francophones not to send their children to French schools. "Les parents, s'il appartiennent à la minorité, estiment qu'il est essentiel que leurs enfants maîtrisent la langue de la majorité. Selon eux, ceux-ci doivent absolument être bilingues car il en va de leur survie" (p. 24). And the debate rages on.

Research findings over the two last decade appear generally unanimous in saying that the homogeneous French school is a key factor in reducing linguistic assimilation. For Magnet (1987),

> a principal cause of assimilation is the lack of effective control of French-language education and facilities by French linguistic minorities. Francophones watch their children being swept into the net of English in 'mixed schools'. Mixed schools are principal institutions of French education in Anglophone Canada. They are cauldrons of assimilation.

> Courts, legislatures and executive commissions have found independently, on the basis of extensive expert evidence, that the grouping of Anglophones and Francophones together in mixed schools is harmful to the linguistic minority child and community and leads directly to assimilation. (p. 31)

Findings also indicates that Francophones, in schools other than homogeneous French as described previously by LeBlanc, the succeed less well academically and are often victims of linguistic assimilation. They tell of additive bilingualism for the majority group, and subtractive bilingualism for the minority group. To quote Lambert,

> Le bilinguisme additif, . . . s'acquiert surtout par le groupe ethnolinguistique majoritaire. Le statut privilégié du groupe dominant permet à ses membres d'acquérir une langue seconde sans aucune menace pour la langue ou la culture de ceux-ci. La situation vécue par les élèves canadiens anglophones éduqués en français dans des programmes d'immersion totale constitue un exemple manifeste de ce type de contexte. . . . Pour les individus du groupe minoritaire, toutefois, l'acquisition d'une langue seconde est davantage un processus de nature soustractive, puisque la langue seconde entre en compétition avec la langue maternelle. Plus l'individu est exposé de façon intensive à la langue dominante, moins élevées sont les chances d'un développement adéquat de la langue maternelle. (Landry & Allard, 1984, pp. 339-340)

Numerous researchers have examined various aspects of this question. Amongst others, Cummins (1978) contends that subtractive bilingualism can lead to what he describes as semibilingualism. "In minority-language situations, it is the child with a poor command of his first language who is most likely to develop inadequate competence in his second" (p. 402). He (1986) strongly advocates the need for empowering minority students to reverse the pattern of minority student failure. Landry (1987), for his part, believes that "additive bilingualism is only possible when the quantity and quality of contacts in L1 (first language) within the family milieu and the

school milieu can compensate for the dominance of L2 (second language) within the socioinstitutional milieu" (p. 111).

But the issue is not only that of the establishment of French language schools and education. It is also a question of governance, of authority over the schools. Tardif (1989) conveys a common held belief when she states that "a principal cause of assimilation is the lack of effective control of French language education and facilities by French linguistic minorities". (p. 18)

Since the Act of Union, Francophones outside of Quebec have continually sought access to education in French. Their history is one of an unrelenting struggle to gain control of schools at all levels of the educational continuum. Looking at the past, Claudette Tardif states that,

> Provincial governments (apart from Quebec and New Brunswick) have been particularly reticent in providing educational services to their official language minorities. The level of education services available to minority Francophones outside Quebec is in some provinces virtually non-existent. In fact, some provinces in the past have actively pursued policies of assimilating the French minorities and of forbidding the use of the language. (p. 6)

The advent, on the 17th of April 1982, of section 23 of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms guaranteeing the rights of French and English minorities to instruction in their language turned a new page on the history of Francophones outside of Quebec. One has but to look at the Mahé Case in Alberta (Robichaud, 1989), the court proceedings initiated by parents in St. John's Newfoundland concerning the right to French-language instruction (Angers, 1989), the establishment of councils for the management of French-language schools by Francophones in Saskatchewan (Eisler, 1989). But except for Ontario, provincial authorities to date have been cautious at best in initiating any kind of major change. Therefore looking at the future Magnet

(1987) states that "litigation in the education sector is inescapable for the Francophone minorities" (p. 31).

Struggle has most certainly characterized French language education in Ontario. One has but to remember Regulation 17 in 1912, the Marchand Report in 1927, the advent of French language public secondary schools as late as 1968 (Abouchar, 1989). But Churchill et al. view the Ontario Court of Appeal decision of 1984 in Reference re Ministry Language Education and Rights as

> l'étape la plus marquante de cette évolution . . . la décision confirmait que l'article 23 de la Charte canadienne des droits et libertés donne aux minoritaires francophones le droit à la gestion de leurs propres écoles . . . elle a transformé définitivement le paysage politique entourant l'éducation des Franco-Ontariens. (1985a, p. 113)

And in January 1989, Ontario finally established the first two independent French-language school boards, one in the Ottawa Carleton area and the other in the metropolitan Toronto area (Gervais, 1989).

Francophone Minority Post-Secondary Education

While the main thrust of provincial developments in recent years, in the provision of minority-language education has been at the elementary and secondary levels, Francophones are now advocating the right to education at the post-secondary level. They are developing a vision of an integrated French language education system which spans day care to university. In 1977, the Fédération des jeunes canadiens français was already stressing the importance of such an orientation.

> La jeunesse francophone hors Québec lutte actuellement pour conserver sa langue et sa culture. L'éducation étant l'élément essentiel à la survie de tout peuple, il convient donc d'élaborer un système complet d'éducation de langue française, qui accordera des maisons

> d'enseignement offrant des cours dans leur langue maternelle. (Nadeau, 1989, p. 53)

In the same thrust, the Conseil de l'éducation franco-ontarienne (1989) has developed a "master plan" that talks of a comprehensive system of French-language education at all levels: preschool, elementary, secondary, community college and university. It proposes a logical path for French-language education within an independent homogeneous system. The Federation of Francophones outside of Quebec (FFHQ) in its 1989 report prepared by Nadeau urges the Federal government to encourage all provinces to protect the educational rights of Francophone at all levels.

> Comme nous le savons tous, l'enseignement de la langue première d'un groupe ethnique permet aux membres de cette communauté de régénérer sa culture. Le contraire est néfaste: "Une langue qu'on n'enseigne pas est un langue qu'on tue d'autant plus quand on en enseigne une autre." Cela le gouvernement canadien le sait très bien et voit à garantir aux Francophones hors Québec des droits à l'éducation en français. C'est là le but premier de l'article 23 de la Charte des droits et libertés. Cependant, il faut aller plus loin dans l'esprit de cet article. Il faut entre autre que le gouvernement canadien s'assure que les provinces soient fortement encouragées à protéger notre droit à l'enseignement en français à tous les niveaux. Aussi nous devrons pousser plus loin la logique de cet Article 23 et y inclure la promotion de l'éducation postsecondaire française aux minorités Francophones du pays. (Nadeau, 1989, p. 50)

In 1989, Lucien Bouchard, the then Secretary of State, announcing the 100 million cost-sharing agreement between Ontario and Canada to be allocated for the creation of a French-language community college system in Ontario, stated that he saw this agreement as a sign of continuity and progress. "The first French-language secondary schools in Ontario opened in the 1960s. Thirty years later, completion of the French education system in the province is within sight. The 1990s will be the decade of the community colleges" (Landry, 1987, p. 25). In the 1988-1989 Annual Report, the Official Languages

Commissioner also announced the creation of the Collège de l'Acadie, the first French-language community college, "a college without walls, to serve Nova Scotia's entire Acadian population" (Ducharme, 1988, p. 31). And on the fourteenth of June 1988 the Government of Saskatchewan and the Government of Canada signed an agreement for the creation of a French-language institute at the University of Regina, one of whose goals was to make it possible for members of the Francophone community to pursue post-secondary studies in French (Guindon & Haentjens, 1990).

When discussing the imperative of post-secondary French-language education for Francophone minorities, most recognize that post-secondary differs from elementary and secondary education, that children and adults have differing needs. Nevertheless many draw close parallels in terms of the "raison d'être." Tardif and McMahon (1989), in looking at the effects of mixed post-secondary institutions for Francophones, insist on the vital need for post-secondary French institutions and on their key role in responding, not only to linguistic and educational needs but also, to cultural needs.

> Évidemment, l'institution postsecondaire fonctionne de façon différente que les écoles primaires et secondaires. Les étudiants qui y accèdent sont normalement d'âge adulte. Les autorités institutionnelles ont une marge d'autonomie dans la prise de décision des programmes, des conditions d'admission, des mécanismes d'évaluation, etc. Toutefois, quand ces institutions sont francophones, elles ont un rôle important à jouer auprès de la communauté. Privés de la plupart des institutions d'une collectivité nationale, il est normal que les francophones hors Québec s'identifient avec leurs centres francophones de façon tout à fait privilégiée. . . . Les recherches indiquent que l'enseignement en français ne suffit pas pour renforcer l'identité culturelle du francophone en milieu minoritaire. Il faut créer un milieu spécial qui viendra contrebalancer les effets du milieu anglophone et qui répondra aux besoins linguistiques, culturels et éducatifs des francophones. (p. 26)

Spectres of acculturation and assimilation once again show their ugly heads. One has but to listen to Lyne Michaud, a post-secondary Ontario student. She makes a strong case for an integrated system of education which she believes to be essential to the cultural and linguistic survival of Franco-Ontarians.

> L'acculturation est peut-être plus sournoise que l'assimilation. Elle vide de substance la forme d'expression de la culture. Suit alors un état de stagnation sociale, ce qui mène à une perte d'identité collective et individuelle. Les deux phénomènes engendrent le même résultat: l'absorption totale de la minorité par la majorité. Il faut arrêter de traduire et d'emprunter le système scolaire des autres et bâtir ensemble le nôtre. La jeunesse francophone hors Québec lutte actuellement pour conserver sa langue et sa culture. L'éducation étant l'élément essentiel à la survie de tout peuple, il convient d'élaborer un système complet d'éducation de langue française. (Actes du 43e congrès de l'ACELF, 1990, p. 7)

Talking about post-secondary education for Saskatchewan Francophones, Guindon and Haentjens (1990) are even more pessimistic. Saskatchewan Francophones have had to be educated in English. Because of an educational system geared to the needs of the majority, the Francophone community has been deprived of the human resources which could be instrumental in its development.

> Les francophones restent toutefois perdants. Pour se procurer les mêmes avantages que leurs concitoyens, ils ont dû s'éduquer dans une langue seconde qui, graduellement, a supplanté leur langue maternelle. Ils sont formés et compétents, mais incapables d'exercer leur métier ou leur profession en français. En plus d'enlever aux individus la possibilité de travailler dans leur langue, le système d'éducation orienté vers les besoins de la majorité prive la communauté fransaskoise des ressources humaines dont elle a grandement besoin pour assurer son développement. Celle-ci ne trouve plus le dynamisme interne qui lui permettrait de freiner l'érosion dont elle souffre. (Guindon & Haentjens, 1990, p. 30)

Watters (1990), in his proposal for a French college in Alberta, concurs when he stresses the importance of a French college in assuring the survival

of Franco-Albertans. "La création d'un collège francophone albertain est un autre jalon pour assurer la survie de la Francophonie en milieu minoritaire" (conclusion).

In Ontario, Churchill et al. (1985) warn of the possibility of the death of certain Francophone groups in spite of acquired educational rights. "Or, à moins d'un changement majeur, le droit à l'éducation en langue française peut se convertir, par des forces externes à l'école, en droit à la mort du groupe francophone en dehors des quelques bases les plus solides, comme la région de l'Est et certaines parties du Centre-Nord de la province" (1985a, p. 10). They believe that a new pro-active attitude by political authorities, which encompasses an energetic policy to change the post-secondary education system as it pertains to Francophones, is vital (1985b, 1985).

As with other levels of education, Francophones believe that they must manage their post-secondary institutions. The FFHQ in Nadeau's report is categorical in reiterating this position, stating that only then can post-secondary institutions truly be supportive of their community's development.

> Tout comme pour le préscolaire, le primaire et le secondaire, le postsecondaire francophone doit être géré par les communautés acadiennes et canadiennes-françaises. Ainsi pour assurer que nos établissements postsecondaires francophones remplissent leur mandat de soutien au développement de nos communautés, les membres de leur conseil d'administration se doivent d'être des représentants de nos communautés. (Nadeau, 1989, p. 299)

Various studies on the needs of Francophones pertaining to college education in Ontario reinforce the same contention (Guidon, Haentjens & Poirier, 1989a, 1989b).

In the Accord Report (1989a) on the situation in Central Southwestern Ontario, Guindon, Haentjens and Poirier insist that regardless of the

governement's decision in terms of French language college education, Francophones must not be relegated to an advisory role. They must have a real say in the decision-making process.

> L'efficacité future du système proposé nécessiterait aussi de redéfinir la participation des francophones à la gestion des services en français. Quel que soit le modèle envisagé, il apparaîtrait notamment indispensable que cette participation dépasse le seul mode consultatif, pour avoir un réel impact sur les décisions qui affecteront l'étendue et l'organisation des programmes offerts. (p. 50)

Guindon et al. (1989b) on the French language college situation in Northern Ontario also clearly state that Francophones are unanimous on one point. They wish to manage their own institutions.

> Un autre point semble susciter l'assentiment d'une grande majorité de francophones. Ils acceptent, de façon spontanée et enthousiaste, l'idée de pouvoir gérer leurs propres institutions, à tous les niveaux du système d'éducation. Pour eux, le milieu dans lequel se déroule la formation est d'une grande importance; ils souhaitent que ce milieu fasse à la fois la promotion de l'individu et du groupe culturel qu'il dessert. (p. 53)

The economic, social and cultural role of colleges and its importance for Francophone minorities is yet another facet which is much discussed by the FFHQ. A correlation is made between improved access by Francophone minorities to post-secondary education and an increase in French services, the economic development of the Francophone minority and the creation of a French work environment.

> Les [établissements] postsecondaires sont des clefs de voûte du développement économique du pays. Dans cette mesure, la Fédération des jeunes Canadiens-français tient à développer l'accès à l'éducation postsecondaire en français, car notre Fédération a comme mission d'assurer la participation des jeunes au développement de leur communauté. Ajoutons que l'amélioration du niveau de scolarité des francophones hors Québec aura une incidence considérable eu égard à des plus grandes prestations de services en français, sur le dynamisme économique des communautés francophones ainsi que sur la création d'espaces de travail de langue française. (Nadeau, 1989, p. 298)

The vision of Francophone college education in Ontario, which is part of the Vision 2000 Report, also discusses both the economic and community mandates which should be that of French language colleges. Anne Gilbert (1990) talks of

> the crucial role that the colleges must play as agents of change within a community that must meet the challenge of assuming its rightful place with the life of the province as a whole, not only on an economic level, but on a cultural, social and political level as well. In other words, the colleges must help to correct a situation which has existed for decades with respect to the Franco-Ontarian community's ability to participate fully in shaping the future of Ontario. The central mission of the colleges is to make Franco-Ontarians aware of the opportunities that are available to them in terms of college education and to make these opportunities accessible.

In spite of the contention of the Canadian Council of Ministers of Education (1987, p. 28) that

> we believe that we will achieve the desired objective of increasing the opportunities for participation by special needs students in post-secondary education and training programs. In so doing, we will ensure that these individuals are given the opportunity to prepare themselves for full and meaningful participation in Canadian society,

in spite of the Official Languages Annual Report (1988-1989) which contends that "the large number of projects carried out at the post-secondary level during this period attests to the level of federal-provincial/territorial co-operation in this area" (p. 10), the present situation in terms of post-secondary education appears bleak. Twenty years after the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, the Department of the Secretary of State of Canada in its 1987 Annual Report on Official Languages states that "les Francophones hors du Québec, en règle générale, ont été exclus du banquet."

> Their [Francophones outside Quebec] opportunities vary considerably according to local numbers and the provinces in which they live. Altogether, there are 70 degree-granting universities and more than 150 community colleges across Canada, but very few even partially

> French language institutions outside Quebec. Francophones in the other provinces most often attend a bilingual university or college or enrol in an English language institution. (p. 201)

The FFHQ in its 1989 report finds that the state of French language post-secondary education outside of Quebec fluctuates greatly, that there are no national policies in this matter and that federal funds allocated for minority post-secondary education are inappropriately used by provinces.

> La situation du postsecondaire en français dans chacune des provinces et territoires à majorité anglaise au pays varie énormément. Chez les uns il n'y a même pas une école secondaire homogène française (Territoires du Nord-Ouest, Yukon, Colombie-Britannique, Alberta, Île-du-Prince-Édouard, Nouvelle-Écosse et Terre-Neuve) alors que certains bénéficient d'un ou de quelques établissements d'enseignement supérieur en français (Manitoba, Ontario, Nouveau-Brunswick et Nouvelle-Écosse). Le Nouveau-Brunswick fait figure de tête de proue dans ce domaine avec cinq établissements postsecondaires homogènes français. . . . Il n'y a pas de politiques nationales en matière d'éducation postsecondaire en français. Encore plus navrant, le fait que les gouvernements provinciaux et territoriaux filtrent de façon préjudiciable les transferts fédéraux destinés à l'enseignement supérieur, autant pour nos concitoyens de langue première anglaise que pour la minorité de langue officielle française. (Nadeau, 1989, p. 17)

Talking about the funding of post-secondary French language education outside of Quebec, Madame Lise Bissonnette contends that most provinces do not pay their fair share. "Dans la plupart des provinces, le gouvernement ne met plus un sous dans l'enseignement supérieur, dont il doit en théorie partager les coûts avec Ottawa. Le transfert fédéral, c'est le budget des universités, point à la ligne" (Fédération des Francophones hors Québec, 1988, p. 18).

Churchill et al. (1985b), in a major study of differential participation rates of Francophones and non-Francophones in the provincial system of 22 Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology in Ontario, found that

> the over-all conclusion deriving from the examination of the data is that Franco-Ontarian participation rates are disastrously low in CAAT programs, particularly technology, that the causes of this are rooted directly in the absence of institutions offering programs in the French language, and that the obvious remedy for the problem consists in providing programs for them in French. (p. 67)

Frenette, Quazi and Stokes did some additional research and further confirmed in 1990 that in terms of access to post-secondary college education Franco-Ontarians are lagging far behind their English counterpart and that the rift is widening.

> À partir de 1984, le taux de participation des francophones a commencé à diminuer de façon très importante et, en 1989, l'écart entre les deux groupes linguistiques était de 30 pour 100. . . . Au niveau collégial, la plus importante considération est que l'effectif des étudiants à temps plein francophones a diminué de près de 25 pour cent entre 1983 et 1988. Sauf quelques exceptions mineures, cette diminution a été observée dans tous les collèges, ainsi que dans tous les comtés et districts. L'effectif des étudiants francophones dans les collèges bilingues a connu une baisse de 29 pour 100 dans les programmes offerts en anglais et de 21 pour 100 dans ceux offerts en français. (p. 245)

In terms of post-secondary education globally, the situation was found to be as bad. The higher the level of education, the wider the rift between Francophones and non-Francophones.

> Plus l'échelon est élevé dans le système d'éducation, plus l'écart du taux de participation entre les francophones et non-francophones s'accroît, en 13^{e} année il était inférieur de 26 pour 100, au niveau collégial il était inférieur de 23,6 pour 100, au 1er cycle il était inférieur de 45 pour 100, tandis qu'il accusait un retard de 49 pour 100 au niveau du 2^{e} et 3^{e} cycle. (p. 247)

Frenette et al. reiterated the findings of the 1985 study which had indicated that participation rates of Francophones is directly related to the availability of French programs. They concluded that the discrepancy between Anglophone and Francophone participation rates required nothing short of a major effort if it was to be eliminated.

Summary

For Francophones outside of Quebec, the issue is and has always been the survival and development of their language and culture. Schools have been perceived as a vital tool in the never ending struggle against assimilation. The history of Francophone minority education may differ from province to province but the issue has never changed. Everywhere Francophones have consistently advocated first the control of elementary schools, then of secondary schools and finally that of the post-secondary. For Francophones outside of Quebec, the 90s will undoubtedly be that of a struggle for post-secondary French language education.

CHAPTER 3 -- SETTING THE STAGE FOR BELIEVING

The methodology used in this research project will be examined in terms of the data sources, the data collection procedures and the data analysis procedures. Trustworthiness issues and ethical considerations will also be addressed.

Data Collecting Techniques

The participants. Data for the research questions were obtained by interviewing two target groups. In the first instance, I interviewed presidents from four of the six Ontario community colleges (CAATS) designated to offer programs and services in the French language. The second round of interviews with three government officials from the Ministry of Colleges and Universities provided the Ontario Government perspectives. These officials were senior administrators all with line responsibilities for French language college programs. These two sets of interviews provided data from the perspective of policy-makers. I chose the four presidents in view of the fact that they all came from colleges which were presently designated bilingual and thus funded to provide training in French. The presidents also were selected because they came from three very different areas of Ontario, the East, the North and the South, which not only have a relatively dense Francophone population but also have had access, in varying degrees, to French-language college programs. The presidents chosen held responsibility for more than 80% of all French language college education in Ontario. The target group of college presidents was selected with a view to providing insights on both policy-making and implementation. The choice of the three ministry officials,

all with line responsibilities, was important in terms of providing a system's perspective as opposed to the insider's more focused point of view of college presidents. It was also important to tap Ministry sources, since this study attempts to address changes which directly results from an Ontario provincial government Act. Going to the source could provide crucial insights into future trends and policy changes for the system. Both presidents and ministry officials were selected in terms of their positions.

The documents. In an effort to tap other sources of data, I made the decision to also examine documentation emanating from two areas: Ministry documents on the French Language Services Act, 1986, and designation plans, as well as official documents on the Act from the six designated colleges. These data provided additional information on the research questions and permitted a corroboration of interview data.

Data Collection Procedures

Guba and Lincoln (1985) in the Naturalistic Paradigm state that "data come to us only in answer to questions, and it is we who decide not only whether to ask but also how the question is to be put. Every question is a little like the wife-beating one--it has its own presuppositions" (p. 332). In this context, it is important for the reader to get a feel for both the framework and the atmosphere of the interviews.

Data collection was conducted primarily through the use of semi-structured interviews, which ranged on average between one to one-and-one half hours.

I obtained documentary sources as a result of requests made both to the Ministry of Colleges and Universities (MCU) and to the six presidents of

designated colleges. My difficulty in personally going to the colleges or MCU made it hard to assess all of the relevant data.

Prior to the actual interviews, I established preliminary contact, either in person or by telephone, with participants in order to secure their agreement to participate. This allowed participants an overview of both the purpose and the content of the study. The support of two intermediaries, the President of a college for presidents and a senior Civil Servant for ministry officials, not only facilitated first contacts but set the stage for productive interviews.

The actual interview questions flowed from the framework provided by the research questions. To be able to define the change brought about by the Act, I had to understand the meanings conferred by the various players on the Act, the perceived impacts of the Act on community colleges and on French language college education and the perceived issues arising from impacts of the Act. An Interview Guide reflecting this framework served as a focus for all interviews (Appendix A). The same interviewing strategy was used for all participants. Broad questions were asked, but the participants were encouraged to direct the interview in terms of their own priorities. All interviews were conducted in a relaxed, private and informal atmosphere. Participants were encouraged to explore the various facets of the three main questions and to personalize related events. As shown in the Interview Guide, specific interview probes were prepared in order to assure a comprehensive analysis of the situation. Interviews, overall, took on a conversational tone, with the participant rather than the researcher leading the way.

Before each interview I explained the framework and the purpose of the study to participants in an effort to set the stage for a mutual exploration of

the key questions. Ethical issues involving confidentiality were discussed. The Interview Guide was presented and discussed with all in order to permit a clear understanding of the interview framework.

All interviews were taped in order for me to concentrate on the task at hand and to permit a later, more indepth, exploration of the data. For most interviews interruptions were minimal and time constraints non-existent. All interviews were brought to a close with my commitment to send each participant a copy of their interview transcript for review and feedback.

Data Analysis Procedures.

Powney and Watts (1987) discussing the transcription, logging and analysis of data, state that "analysis is every bit as much an act of constructing interpretations as is the interview itself" (p. 143). Guba and Lincoln (1985), for their part, believe that "the process of data analysis then is essentially a synthetic one, in which the constructions that have emerged, have been shaped by inquirer-source interaction, are reconstructed into meaningful ones" (p. 333). The process was certainly an evolving one, during which my attitude evolved from one that was certainly judgemental, to one of empathy and understanding. Inferring messages, verbal and non-verbal, going beyond appearances, sharing in, perhaps, a different level of awareness, required long hours of listening, of reading and of reliving a context.

My objective in analyzing the data was to get as near to my data as possible, to manipulate it extensively in order to create a situation of saturation.

The purpose of the study is to construct a picture of French language college education, after the French Language Services Act, 1986, using the

participants' vision of reality. In this context, it is desirable that I, as researcher, be the instrument by which data are analyzed.

One of the main purposes of data analysis is to be able to produce what Glaser and Strauss define as "grounded theory," that is, "the discovery of theory from data" (Berg, 1989, p. 225). This process of developing theory, of identifying themes, correlations and deeper understandings, occurred as meanings and interpretations emerged. At the beginning of my data analysis, I dealt mostly with what Berg describes as "manifest analysis," that is, with "elements that are physically present and countable" (1989, p. 101). But, very early in the process I also attempted to use intuition, apprehension and vibes. While listening to the interviews, the tone of voice, the choice of words, the configuration of ideas were subjected to scrutiny as were the words and ideas themselves. In so doing, I attempted to build on tacit knowledge, to do a "latent analysis", in other words, to get at the "symbolism underlying physically presented data" (Berg, 1989, p. 106). The process used was therefore inductive and required that I immerse myself in the various messages, in order to identify dimensions that seemed meaningful to the participants. Because of the time frame of the study, which from beginning to end spanned more than 2 years, it was particularly important that I work very closely with the data, and that I police myself in order not to construe intents into the participants' messages which would be incongruent with the social and political reality at the time of the interviews.

In starting my analysis, I organized the data around three basic research questions: (a) the interpretation of the Act, (b) the impact of the Act on

French language college education, (c) the issues that arise because of this impact.

Throughout, I tried to remain open to unanticipated messages which might emerge from the data. Also, and this certainly was a source of frustration, I tried to follow Berg's advice that "for students in qualitative research . . . in the beginning more is better" (1989, p. 117). I, therefore, took note of a great number of interactions and jotted down a large number of ideas that might later be useful. This, for a while, proved to be quite overwhelming.

The process of analysis which I used was as follows. I had the interviews transcribed verbatim, printed with large margins and double-spaced. I worked both with the tape and the interview transcripts including hesitations, pauses, laughs, sighs, coughs, emphasis and so on. I then replayed the conversations several times and entered notations and comments in the margins. In so doing, I focused on what Powney and Watts (1987) describes as the "substance of what was said" and emphasized the "paralinguistic considerations" (p. 146).

I then set out to construct distinctive descriptors of major aspects of the interviews. The process is best described by Powney and Watts as "a creative constructive affair" by which data are reduced "into a handleable form, . . . that can be appreciated by the intended audiences" (p. 160). My categories were built on what Lincoln and Guba (1985) describes as a "feel right, look right basis," and encompassed both words, themes, paragraphs, items, concepts and semantics (p. 340). I concentrated my efforts in finding and describing what Strauss defines as "in vivo codes," that is, "literal terms used by

individuals under investigation" (Berg, 1989, p. 108). Having identified perceived categories, I proceeded to cut up my transcripts and to make category piles of the data collected in the first and second interviews. It was a long process which led to elimination, amalgamation and creation of multiple categories. I arbitrarily decided to end the process with thirteen categories which were common to both interviews. I then proceeded to describe these categories using specific units of information. Working very closely with the data, further challenging existing categories, I searched for what Berg describes as "sociological constructs . . . based on a combination of the researcher's scholarly knowledge and knowledge of the field . . . which add breadth and depth to observation by reaching beyond local meaning" (p. 108). In so doing, I was able to identify three themes.

Trustworthiness Issues.

A crucial issue with which I wrestled throughout the analysis of data is that of trustworthiness. I was much concerned by the so-called true or intended meaning of the words, of the ideas. Questions such as "Am I representing the reality of the participants appropriately?" and "Is the holistic nature of the context preserved in spite of the interpretation or reduction of data?" were a constant source of worry. As a novice investigator, I elected to heed the advice "believe everything and believe nothing while undertaking open coding" (Berg, 1989, p. 117).

In terms of the overall study, trustworthiness has been addressed in the following manner. Triangulation has been used since I obtained data from two different groups, presidents and ministry officials. I not only did interviews but I also analyzed relevant documents and confronted the findings with data

emanating from the interviews. During data analysis, only statements which were supported by numerous different sources were kept. Assertions throughout the study are supported by only particularly illustrative quotes. There were numerous others which, for the sake of readability, were intentionally left out. Peer debriefing proved to be invaluable in the first phase of analysis. Both fellow students and teachers acted as sounding boards and challenged my findings, forcing me to elaborate, to justify and to change my mind. This part of the study occurred while I was in a completely English environment. I sought the feedback of fellow students and was often strongly challenged as to possible biases. Because of very different backgrounds, they forced a healthy requestionning of easy assumptions and often provided a different light to what had seemed a straightforward assumption. This technique was an inherent part of the whole process and proved important in challenging interpretations and testing insights. Member checks, though limited in scope, occurred since all participants received a summary of their interview. They had the opportunity to provide any feedback which they deemed appropriate. Four of the participants sent back an annotated copy of their interview. All field notes and tapes were kept for future substantiation of findings.

The degree of transferability of data was also a concern, in view of the fact that Francophones, outside of Quebec, could possibly be interested in the findings of the study. The purposive sampling of knowledgeable and willing participants and of well-defined documentary sources has hopefully yielded rich and meaningful data that will be conducive to "thick descriptions." Because of these thick descriptions, readers will be able to better judge whether

their circumstances share similarities with those described and whether insights could be transferable to their context.

Finally, because of my previous close involvement with the Act as it pertains to Ontario's community colleges, I was very concerned with the issue of neutrality. How could it be established that my findings reflected the views of the participants and not my personal biases? The solution partly laid in my working very closely with my data. I constantly tried to be on the lookout for poor data. I constantly tried to question the meaning of what was said. I tried to always look at events through the eyes of the participants. As previously discussed, triangulation, peer debriefing and member checks were used and helped maintain my level of awareness in this matter.

Ethical Considerations

Ethical considerations involving confidentiality proved to be a major preoccupation during the whole of the study. Because the events are so current, because of the emotional controversy surrounding the political decisions in terms of French language colleges and because of the highly visible and sensitive positions of most participants, I wrestled with the dilemma of how to preserve participants' anonymity. Before each interview, I extensively discussed this issue with all participants who repeatedly, verbally and in one case in writing, reiterated their need for anonymity. This proved to be especially true of ministry officials. It was certainly much less of an issue for college presidents. I was therefore very careful not to identify participants in discussing the data with peers. I was also most meticulous in my handling of transcripts and tapes. During the actual writing of my thesis, I repeatedly discussed this issue with my director who agreed to act as a

censor. I was also careful to attribute comments to a group, that of ministry officials or college presidents, to eliminate more sensitive comments, to use the masculine for all participants, and to choose what seem to be the least identifiable citations. All quotes were reviewed to make them more intelligible and to preserve the anonymity of the participants. Also I chose never to directly identify a college or an individual when quoting one of the participants. Rather, I repeatedly left blanks in citations.

CHAPTER 4 -- THE INTERPRETATION OF THE ACT

Five main categories address the interpretation of the Act itself. It is seen foremost as a lever, which legally entrenches Francophone rights, preserves French language and culture, involves Francophones in the governance and increases accessibility to college education.

A Lever

All participants, whether they are college presidents or ministry officials, argue that the French Language Services Act was undoubtedly a lever that accelerated the development of French language college education in Ontario. When speaking of the Act, participants make much use of verbs like "push it along, speeded up, clarifies things, brings it to a head, accélérer." One participant sums it up well when he says that, this Act will mobilize resources, mobilize energy, point a direction and make things clearer then they even have been."

Participants highlight the fact that, under the Act, College of Applied Arts and Technology are not necessarily included. Technically speaking the Ministry could have chosen not to designate colleges as agencies providing services under the Act. It certainly could have chosen never to consider the option of a French language college. One of the participants alludes to this when he states "It's hard to come away from the Act with an understanding of it and really what has resulted from it has not been due to the Act itself but rather due to the chain of events that followed from it."

All participants perceive the Act as a lever that helped precipitate events and decisions in term of French language college education. All see the Act

as part of a continuum of events leading to the extension of French Language Services in Ontario.

Ministry officials tell the story of an evolving policy that went from the extension of French language services within existing institutions, to the designation of an existing institution as legally responsible for providing French language services, to the creation of a new French language institution.

To quote a Ministry Official,

> the Act is just one event, things didn't happen because of the Act, they were already evolving, the Act reflected the fact that the evolution was occurring and there was a perception of need and that's why we had an Act. So to me the Act was not a revolutionary thing that just happened that one year and nor does it end when we have an Act, it's simply evolutionary and that's one stage in a whole process. It was going to happen anyway just as sure as we had separate school boards . . ., the Act may have helped us, it didn't make it happen, nor is it the end.

The Ministry goal as it pertains to French language college education remained the same. The Ministry was committed to extending services in French, it wanted to increase the participation rates of Francophones, it wanted to increase the range of services offered in French. In fact, talking about the impact of the Act on the Ministry, one official states that "it's an Act that helped the whole thing along, but there was no impact in terms of redirection, in terms of policy, changes in attitudes, more funding."

College presidents also share the perception that while the Act is yet another step in the evolution of French language college services in Ontario, "it went beyond," it did push things along. They see the Act as yet another step in the Ontario Government's policy of "étapisme," in the gradual increase of services offered in French by Ontario CAATS. One of the presidents states that

> the Act may have been an attempt at étapisme. On the part of this government, it seems to be a political strategy to address Franco-Ontarians. And it's not a bad thing. Ontario has made some progress through this étapisme and I think it was viewed that the Act would be a further step in that.

But this "pushing of things along," this lever, is perceived very differently by ministry officials and college presidents. Both are completely at odds as to their view of the Act and of the designation conditions given to colleges.

Ministry officials' perception of this role of the Act as a lever is very positive. For them, looking to the spirit of the Act, looking at the intent, looking at maximum services and going beyond legal obligations, presents a perspective which may help explain why the events that flowed from the Act were not necessarily those which legally needed to occur. One Ministry Official describes well how present events can be interpreted as an attempt to implement certainly not the letter of the Act, but its spirit.

> Très vite, on est allé beaucoup plus loin que la Loi 8, que ce que la Loi 8 ou même ce que la Commission demandait avec ses critères. Très vite on a dépassé ça, surtout du côté collégial, on a dépassé l'idée de la désignation. J'ai de la difficulté maintenant à penser à ce qui se passe dans le réseau collégial, à la lumière de la Loi 8, parce que ça n'a plus de rapport. Je sais bien que ce qu'on est en train de faire dans le système collégial par l'implantation d'un collège homogène dans l'Est et par ce qu'on va faire dans le Nord et dans le Sud. On essaie de répondre à ce que la Loi 8 veut qu'on fasse mais je pense qu'on est en train de répondre à l'esprit et non à la lettre de la Loi 8.

Consistent with their position, that the spirit of the Act signals for Ontario a step forward in legally guaranteeing the provision of services in French, ministry officials believe that Ontario colleges should not "necessarily adopt the minimal approach and in fact should feel reasonably comfortable going beyond that level." They therefore perceive the designation criteria as guides that will help colleges find ways and means to implement the spirit of

the Act. One Ministry Official, when confronted with the criticism of "vague designation criteria", spontaneously volunteers,

> they're vague I guess by intention because each college is different and each college will have to apply things in their own way. The more prescriptive you try to become with an organization or with an individual, the more you get into a game plan situation; the tighter the rules, the more people look for loopholes. What you have to do ultimately, in my belief at least for success is to define the kind of thing you want so that people understand it, to set a reasonable number of criteria that people can understand, that have the flexibility to interpret in their own way and implement in their own way and that fundamentally you rely on the trust on the goodwill and on the cooperation of the institutions. It's only when that kind of thing is not evident as forthcoming that you have to resort to other measures. But that first exercise in this is consensus building, around a common goal.

College presidents are at the other end of the spectrum in terms of their perception of the Act and of the ensuing process. In contrast to ministry officials, they unanimously hold a negative view of the Act as a lever. One of them very colourfully describes the Act as "the dance of the wild flamingos." For presidents, the Act precipitated a chain of events without any planning, without any thought to possible negative consequences, as they repeatedly state "it didn't intend" and what happened, happened "by accident."

All presidents are therefore very critical both of the Act itself and the process associated with the implementation of the Act and of the designation criteria. As opposed to ministry officials, they feel strongly that the intent of the Act was not respected and that ensuing impacts were most negative. Presidents generally talk of the letter of the Act, feeling that all else is speculation. They do not see the link between the Act and the events that followed. One of the presidents states,

> When you first read the Act and when you see what has happened to the Act, what has happened was not intended by the Act. I don't think it was that well done, . . . I think it was done hastefully, it's not clear . . .

and the regulations that flow from it aren't clear, the discussions that flow from it are unclear.

Legal Entrenchment of Francophone Rights

Both ministry officials and college presidents unanimously recognize and accept that the French Language Services Act legally entrenches the right to government services in French in Ontario. The legal status of the Act, as it pertains to colleges, is much discussed and never contested. All agree that the right to French language college education in Ontario now exists. To quote on of the participants, "It is now law that there is to be the opportunity for students, French students, to be able to receive education in their own language at the elementary, secondary and post-secondary level." All perceive that "there is a law and we've got to get on with implementing it."

One of the participants highlights an interesting consequence of the Act when he describes life before the Act. He points out that designated colleges will now be under a legal obligation to offer services in French and to involve Francophone in governance whereas previously colleges, at most, felt a moral obligation to do so.

> C'était offrir des services aux francophones à l'intérieur de l'institution existante; services pour lesquels il y avait un nombre suffisant; services pour lesquels le Ministère était prêt à payer un petit peu plus cher, mais ce n'était sûrement pas équité de services. Ce n'était sûrement pas permanence de services, il n'y avait sûrement aucune provision quant à la représentation des Francophones à la gestion et il n'y avait sûrement aucune provision quant à la représentation des Francophones à la gouvernance. Il y avait une espèce d'obligation morale quelconque pour les collèges désignés bilingues, d'avoir au moins un représentant francophone à leur Bureau des gouverneurs, mais il n'y avait sûrement aucune espèce d'obligation légale ou même aucune espèce de pression du Ministère.

Participants explore very different facets of the legal implications of the French Language Services Act. In turn they see the Act as a guarantee of

results, as a right to a privilege, as a recognition of Francophones' place and as a recognition of Francophones' need for legislation.

Most participants agree that one of the most important consequences of the legal aspect of the Act is the government commitment "to make it happen." The Act should most certainly mean that there will be more efforts put into French language college education in Ontario. Participants are unanimous that "the government is committed to providing French language education for students in Ontario at all levels." One goes so far as to say that this right will carry an obligation and a responsibility to ensure that French language services are as accessible and as high quality as English language services.

> Are they really up to snuff? Do they compare to the English services? These questions will become more important, because when something becomes a guarantee, a right, it takes on attributes beyond just a simple service. It becomes the quality of service, the accessibility of service . . . the guarantee carries with it some important responsibility.

A Ministry Official very clearly makes the point that this Act in fact cements an existing government direction and that it offers a guarantee of the further expansion of French language college services in Ontario.

> Would we have maintained our impetus in a constrained environment or would two or three players have changed? We were going to be O.K. based on the people we had in place, based on the attitudes of people we had in place and based on the resources available to those people. But now an Act guarantees that, and we might have lost all that momentum without the Act. All we needed was to have one person leave or two. So in that sense the Act was very very important to cement the direction we'd already embarked upon and to ensure that we had legal obligations to do that.

The ministry officials interviewed certainly felt a personal commitment to French language college services but they also held the belief that because an Act is a piece of legislation it guarantees that regardless of the people in place,

"you put all your time and energy making it a positive experience." For ministry officials, that is "the only way to do business."

Another aspect of the legal implication of the Act is discussed by a participant when he explains how the Act has won for Francophones the right to a privilege. In Ontario, college education, as opposed to elementary and secondary education, is a privilege, not a right. He contends that Francophones, through the Act, have now acquired the right to this privilege.

> L'éducation en français, aux niveaux primaire et secondaire, était un droit de par la Charte de l'éducation alors que l'éducation postsecondaire, en français ou en anglais, était un privilège en Ontario, parce que l'éducation postsecondaire en soi c'est un privilège en Ontario. Il n'y a pas un système qui garantit l'accès à l'éducation postsecondaire en Ontario, . . . maintenant le Ministère considère qu'à l'intérieur du privilège, les Francophones qui sont assez privilégiés pour obtenir l'éducation postsecondaire, ont le droit de l'obtenir en français. Donc, c'est une distinction très fine. L'éducation postsecondaire en français n'est pas un droit c'est encore un privilège mais les Francophones ont le droit d'obtenir le privilège en français.

Because of the Act, Francophones have also won a legitimate place in French language college education and in the Ontario Public Service. One participant points a vivid picture when he states that because of the legal entrenchment of Francophone rights, there now exists a "French playground." Ministries must henceforth contend with the legal obligation. French language services must be integrated in all future plans. It cannot be an afterthought.

> La loi 8 a défini pour les ministères, un périmètre francophone, leur a fait prendre conscience qu'à partir de maintenant il y avait une volonté et une espèce de terrain de jeu francophone qu'ils devaient respecter et intégrer dans leur planification. Ce terrain de jeu était-il 10x10, 12x12, 15x15? Ils ne le savaient pas exactement mais il y avait un périmètre, ça venait de définir une zone.

Finally, another participant presents an interesting hypotheses when he discusses how "the passage of the Act . . . recognizes the Francophone desire

for legislation." He believes that because of distinct cultural traits and because of a minority situation in Ontario, Francophones need the reassurance of entrenched legal rights. The Act therefore provides legal protection, remedies for the ills of the past and comfort with the situation at hand.

> My sense has been that the French culture is more structure-and legislation-based than the English culture. As an example the British still don't have a constitution, yet it is generally recognized to be the seat of democracy. My sense of the French culture is that it is quite different, that it likes things written down, it likes things organized, it wants to know what the structure is, it feels more comfortable in that environment. That is probably also a function of a minority group who is seeking to protect rights, who has seen rights given and withdrawn, who have seen rights promised and not delivered. They are looking not just for the legal protection but also for the remedy, the services act provides, I guess that is to say I see it partly as a very French cultural thing but I also see it as a minority endeavour to protect themselves from the tyranny of the majority.

Preservation of Language and Culture

All participants perceive the intent of the French Language Services Act as that of wanting to preserve both French language and culture in Ontario. They share the belief that the preamble expresses the intend of the Act and as such is the most important component of the Act. Participants in turn reiterate that "the preamble is more important then the law itself," that "the significance as related to the colleges come from the preamble, not from the Act" and that "the preamble . . . that has been more important then what is in the Act."

One of the participants further highlights the importance of the preamble when he describes it as "the value system" of the Act.

> The preamble is a value statement and to that extent it is indeed the most important part because after all the guidelines, and after all the chapters and subchapters of the Act have been implemented, the individual section implementation is not as important as the preamble, it is the value system that ultimately will be the most important.

Most participants believe that the preamble recognizes the contribution of French language and culture to Ontario society and guarantees a certain permanence in terms of government commitment.

> You have to look at the preamble and the kinds of words that come out of it, are things like "a recognition of the contribution" so what you are stating here is that we value and that we accept that what you're contributing is positive and beneficial, when you say "we should preserve it for future generations" you're expressing a value that this is not a temporary thing that this is continuous, that this is our goal. Using words like "historic" and "honoured" you are putting a status, a value. It is not just another language it is in fact something which is recognized to contribute.

Most participants are convinced that if the intent of the Act is to be respected, if French language and culture are to be preserved in Ontario, then it is important that a "French milieu," a French environment be created where Francophones can live, study and learn at the college level. Many concur that "milieu may be a word that grew out of Bill 8" and that,

> the sensitivity of the milieu was something that grew on us over a period of time and that in the context of the college, very much the overwhelming concern is the issue of milieu . . . it is an issue of provision of services in a milieu that is supportive both of the language development and of the culture.

One of the participants ponders the fact that "a lot of what we learn, we learn outside the classroom, we learn within an educational institution . . . that the surroundings are an important part of that." Presidents, in turn, examine various options within their own institutions that would be conducive to the development of a French milieu. They range from the setting up of a French homogenous campus, to the building of a French wing to the organization of French clubs.

For many of the participants, the creation of a French milieu is an important prerequisite to "the future well-being of Franco-Ontarians." It is

therefore not surprising that the issue of milieu is seen by ministry officials as one of the important factors that lead to the decision to create a French college.

> That's generally why we've gone with the concept of a 23rd college, a French language college in the area. If it was just straight provision of program we could do with another model. With the other dimension, and you need a self contained unit and that's why we've gone with this.

Similarly most college presidents believe that this is one of the important reasons that has lead them to support the establishment of a French language college. "If the Franco-Ontarians desire to preserve their culture . . . if you want to preserve the French culture, it's clear you have to have a French environment at least, and that a French environment may be a French college."

Presidents, throughout and in spite of their previous contention, express much scepticism in terms of the realism of this endeavour. Preserving language and culture may prove difficult even within a French only college. Their warnings allude to the strong impact of the majority English environment within Ontario. "You have to take certain measures to ensure . . . the preservation of milieu, otherwise the darn thing then tips and you end up with English being the working language in a French institution. That would be a ludicrous situation." They also warn that the present reality of Ontario CAATs is not conducive to the preservation of culture.

> Our students are not programmed for cultural enforcement. It probably comes about in the post-secondary setting by staying in a place for a long period of time. If you go to school for one year, you don't preserve your culture. If you go for two years or three years do you really? The reality of colleges is that we've teaching vocational skills; we seem to have less and less time to develop the whole person.

Management for and by Francophones

One of the key aspects of the Act that was widely discussed by all participants was that of the need to involve Francophones in the governance of colleges. One of the participants describes it well when he states that "in terms of this Act, an overwhelming concern is the issue . . . of government by Francophones, that decisions will be made by Francophones for Francophones."

Participants agree that this aspect is vital to the Francophone community and that there exists a perception that Francophones can best respond to their own needs.

> The bottom line as I understand it is control over their own education. When everything else is stripped away, they key thing seems to be the issue of governance. Within the community there is a recognition that Francophones are different from Anglophones and that with the best intention in the world Anglophones do not know exactly what Francophones want and therefore only Francophones can respond to that.

The idea of governance is never mentioned or alluded to in the French Language Services Act itself. It was only through the conditions for designation of colleges as agencies under the Act that the Ministry introduced the requirement of increased Francophone involvement in governance. Nevertheless all participants generally accept the legitimacy of more Francophone involvement in governance. To quote a President: "Well I think that we would certainly have agreed that there had to be more Francophones representation, not just on our Board of Governors but on our college council, on our various committees throughout the College."

Francophone involvement in governance, as discussed by the participants, touches on two aspects: board and internal college administration. In terms of the involvement of Francophones in internal college administration, none of

the participants see this as being a major obstacle to designation. In fact they stress "the importance of having Francophones participate fully . . . in senior decision making." They, in turn, spend time exploring the impact on personnel policies, the difficulty of hiring during times of economic constraints and the complex English/French interface which could negatively impact on the delivery of the academic process.

All participants agree that it is Board governance which constitutes the major stake and the major stumbling block in terms of the legal designation of colleges as agencies offering services in French under the Act. They contend that colleges wanted to increase the number of French programs, that they were receptive to increasing the number of Francophone administrators. But they refuse to share the real power, they refuse to relinquish their power over French language college activities. "C'était la gouvernance qui causait un problème parce que c'est à la gouvernance que tout se décide : l'orientation, le pouvoir de décider, c'était ça qui était le problème."

This whole aspect of board governance is perceived as most problematic, as least resolvable, by all college presidents. They strongly believe that the designation criteria which specify that "at no time may the number of representatives on the Board, be less then five. These representatives are to be granted full authority over programs and services in French," is completely unrealistic, unreasonable and unnecessary. One asks: "Effective representation of Francophones on the agency's board, you can get that with one or two people and you can't get it with ten. All argumentation." Another ponders, "If they were going to have six of their people sitting at the Board representing 60 people versus the other. Which was reasonable?" At least three of the

presidents quite openly and vehemently warn of the very real threat of backlash.

> The issue of designation in terms of a equal representation on the board, I had people that . . . most of them wouldn't speak because they were so negative about it. The felt "who do the hell do these people thing they are, that can just come into this college where there's more English than there's French." That's part of what we've been fighting.

Nevertheless, in an attempt to keep their French component, two of the presidents propose options that could guarantee effective representation of Francophones on their college Boards. For example, "decisions relating to the French language programming would be made at French language sub-committees of the board and would not come back to the Board as a whole."

Ministry officials are convinced that this interpretation of the Act constitutes the other key factor in the decision to create a French language college.

> When we look at the terms and conditions of designation we realized that it would be very difficult for a number of institutions to meet those terms and conditions, mainly the governance one, and when we looked at some of the implications of trying to do that, what we realized very quickly was that it may be best to think in terms of a separate college.

Three college presidents agree that the best option at this point is indeed to support the establishment of a French Language College. One of them makes the case that even if

> we have 12 Francophones on the board, we have 12 vice-presidents that are all Francophones, it doesn't mean anything, it's a question of nous sommes minoritaire, so you can never do it. I'm saying that it's better just to recognize that at this point in time.

Another feels that this aspect is now resolved. "Adequate representation on the Board, at least in Eastern Ontario . . . will be solved because the whole Board will be French."

Participants express some cynicism about self-governance. This issue has always been and will continue to be a very political issue. To quote a few, "it's an old political potato", "in politics, perception is reality. What the community believes then that will be reality for them" "it's a red herring" and "the phrase . . . "the Minister may" in the English bureaucratic system is powerful."

Accessibility

The French Language Services Act states that "a person has the right . . . to communicate in French . . . and to receive available services in French." It is therefore not surprising that all participants, in their interpretation of the Act, not only give priority but also stress the importance of increased accessibility of services offered in French in community colleges. For them, the Act brings to mind an attempt "to improve the participation rate [of Francophones] in college-level education," to "serve the needs of the vast majority of Francophones in this province," "to provide services to the Francophone population in their language," and "to provide a full range of services to the Francophone community."

During the interviews, the frequent use of the verbs, "improving, enforcing, extending and expanding" when French language services are being discussed, highlights the focus which the Act places on increased accessibility. Many emphasize the importance of increased accessibility to French language college education as a necessary prerequisite to the successful implementation

of the French Language Services Act. Colleges will play a key role in producing the necessary Francophone manpower to implement the Act.

> C'était la clé de voûte qui allait permettre la formation de la main-d'oeuvre nécessaire à l'implantation de la loi 8 . . . le Ministère des collèges et universités avaient été identifié comme le ministère-clé . . . c'est ce ministère-là qui, par son plan d'implantation, et par les actions qu'il entreprendra pour implanter des services dans les institutions postsecondaires, va permettre la formation de la main-d'oeuvre qui, à son tour, va pouvoir permettre l'implantation de la loi 8 dans les autres secteurs.

While the word "service" is never defined in the Act, all participants chose to give a broad definition to what actually constitutes "services" in a community college. Services are defined not only as student services but also as programs available in French.

> It means the full range of services, from the first communication with the community to the final product which the client receives, the diploma or certificate. It means the complete range of services, the initial advertisement, the availability of the service, the admission, registration, the program delivery, the student support services, the professional development, every single dimension of the college operation should be in the French language.

Most link the idea of accessibility to that of quality. Accessible service must also mean quality service. One of the participants describes what he believes to be an intent of the Act. "Qualité et accessibilité . . . cela répond à l'intention de la Loi, parce que l'intention de la Loi, c'était pas de diminuer, d'offrir un produit de second ordre donc qualité va de soi."

If the intent of the Act is to be respected, all presidents express their belief that services must be provided to students from all areas of the province and to different clienteles. Centralisation versus decentralisation of services is much discussed. Talking about the French college, all show very real concern that its creation could restrict accessibility if it was perceived as the

only option in terms of French language college education. One President explains the lack of mobility of college students in terms of their lack of "academic confidence," their lack of "economic clout," their family responsibilities. He states that "therefore the program is either available locally, within commuting distance or is not available." Another President asks, "Is every French language student who wants an education going to have to go to Ottawa? Can they afford to go to Ottawa?" He presents the option of a college that could be "a broker for all of the colleges in the south." Another states that "the kids won't come from the north." He presents the option that "the students should study (in) bilingual programs or unilingual programs, that option should remain available." Many ways, no one best way, seems to be the message conveyed by all college presidents.

College presidents are unanimous in their belief that the whole question of accessibility is most unclear. They question the meaning of the expression "receiving services in French" used in the Act. "The question of 'providing services' what does that mean? To what level of demand. Is it to search out the demand, or to meet the existing demand. Most think of it as unclear." One participant reflects that "Some people believe they're doing that now . . . they're providing a comprehensive quality service." Others present their definition of accessibility. Accessibility yes, but only where "the population warranted it," only "where the Francophones are in sufficient numbers."

Participants generally do not agree on whether services offered in French should be equivalent to services offered in English. A few strongly assert that "the Act is to provide a framework from which our college provides services in French as equal as English, as much as possible." But the majority of

participants feel that the intent of the Act is clearly that of providing services in French in function of client need. Access is therefore mostly defined in function of need, not in terms of a carbon copy reproduction of what is being done in English.

> L'intention de la loi 8 c'est de ne pas seulement donner accès à tous les services en français mais bien de donner accès aux services en français en fonction des besoins du client, justement, pour la préservation de sa culture, et de son héritage. Alors tous les services dont le client a besoin devraient lui être accessibles en français contrairement à un accès à tous les services de façon indiscriminée.

Summary

Participants generally agree on the interpretation of the French Language Services Act. They believe that the Act acted as a lever which accelerated the development of French language college education in Ontario. Technically speaking, Government could have chosen not to designate colleges as agencies providing services under the Act. It certainly was not obligated to create a French language college. But all participants see the Act as part of an evolving government policy to increase French language services in Ontario. Ministry officials talk very positively about implementing the spirit of the Act while college presidents perceive that the letter of the Act was not adhered to, that the Act went far beyond.

All participants unanimously agree that the Act legally entrenches the right to French language college education in Ontario. In turn, they see the Act as a guarantee of government commitment, as a recognition of Francophones' legitimate place and as a recognition of Francophones' need for legislation. All believe that the Act intends to preserve French language and culture in Ontario. They see the creation of a "French milieu" as an important

prerequite to this preservation. All believe this factor to have been instrumental in the decision to create a first French language college. Sceptical in terms of the realism of actually creating a French milieu, Presidents explore options within their own colleges.

Although the concept of governance, that is of Francophones managing their own affairs, is never alluded to in the Act itself, all participants extensively discuss it. They generally accept the legitimacy of more Francophone involvement in governance. Increased participation in the internal administration of colleges is seen in a positive light. Board college presidents governance constitute the major stumbling block. Many agree that only a separate French language institution can resolve this impasse.

First and foremost, participants feel that the Act intends to increase the accessibility of services offered in French in colleges. Accessibility is much discussed especially by college presidents. Programs and services of equal quality must be available across the province. But to what level? Must they be equivalent to English programs? There lies the difficulty.

CHAPTER 5 -- IMPACTS ARISING FROM THE ACT

All participants feel that the French Language Services Act has had an impact on Ontario college education. They extensively discuss the search for solutions in implementing the Act, the change in climate, the conflicting relationships, the level of French language services and the shift in leadership. Through the words they use, they also provide a glimpse of this new reality of transition which they are trying to cope with.

In Search of a Solution

Discussing, evaluating, questioning and seeking options and solutions in terms of French language college education which would permit the implementation of the Act throughout Ontario, permeates all the interviews and constitutes a major impact of the Act. While the government has imposed its solution in the East with the decision to create a French college, solutions in terms of the rest of Ontario have yet to be found.

The government decision to create a French language College of Applied Arts and Technology (CAAT) in the East is perceived by all participants as a direct consequence of the Act. Most express the belief that eventually there probably would have been a French college. All unanimously agree that it was the Act which was instrumental in bringing it about as quickly. To quote a participant,

> S'il n'y avait pas eu de Loi 8, aurait-on aujourd'hui un collège de langue française? La réponse est non, aujourd'hui. Éventuellement, les Francophones auraient-ils obtenu un collège de langue française, même sans la Loi 8? La réponse c'est oui.

Yet another confirms that

> it has led us to come to a determination that we should have a 23rd college. I will admit we would probably not have gotten to this without [the Act]. We may have gotten it but we probably would not have gotten to it as quickly.

One of the participants makes an interesting point when he states that the Act could have had the opposite effect. It could have prevented the creation of a French language college.

> Bill 8 had a possibility to lessen the creation of a French College. If you establish programs in various parts of the province and if the Eastern colleges are reduced to 900 students [Francophones are attending local colleges] . . . there are not enough for a French college.

All participants clearly state that for them, the largest impact of the Act, has been the creation of the French college. Ministry officials are enthusiastic in describing the significance of this impact which they see as "significant," as "going to change things" and as "revolutionary in terms of what we do in college education from now on." Presidents for their part generally perceive this impact negatively. They believe that they have lost or are in danger of losing their French language components. One states that "the major impact on our college as of next Tuesday is that we're out of the business," while another is still stunned by the announcement. He talks of the "heightened awareness . . . of the possibility that there could be a separate college, first of all in Ottawa and then perhaps . . . it's still hitting home, it's still sinking."

All participants spend an inordinate amount of time speculating about the future of the new French college, about its opportunities and about the possible pitfalls. To quote but one example,

> I think the new college starting in Ottawa like anything new, is going to have a . . . difficult time marketing itself. Marketing is not easy it takes a long time so I don't think our enrolments will go down. I think they

> might go up, because a number of Francophone students will want to speak and study in French but also not want to shut themselves off from the other part of the world. This is not Quebec you know we don't have French institutions and English institutions Ontario is a bilingual province more so than Quebec.

All participants strongly emphasize that the creation of the French language college in Ottawa is but one option in terms of Ontario French language college education. One, in talking about the French college, sums up the conviction of all.

> At the same time recognizing that that by itself was not a solution, that simply the creation of a 23rd college wherever it were located would not necessarily serve the needs of the vast majority of Francophones in the province.

Looking at other options, participants both reflect on the past and look to the future. In the North, one participant talks of existing institutions as decent options: "I think people will learn that what we have there is decent. They don't have to go to a French college, because we already have a reputation. One has to remember that reputations die hard." While the concepts of a network of colleges, of a college without walls and of a French college in the North are discussed, these options are always perceived most negatively. It is "l'ACFO [which is] running around in the North saying we have a network." A college without walls has been tried and has failed in other provinces. And the French college might be seen as "it's somebody in the next neighbourhood then you think all kinds of strange things."

In the South, the story is altogether different. Despite substantial efforts, existing colleges have not been successful in offering French language programs. They have not managed to attract a French speaking clientele. We are therefore privy to a saga of failure.

> We used to have three choices at the post-secondary level but right now we only have two. We had a bilingual secretary last year but we had to give it up because one year we'd get 12 students the next year we'd get 8. It was just very difficult to get the numbers. We had done a lot of recruitment, we had worked hard at trying to have at least one person in each of our service areas who could speak French.

In the South, there is an acknowledgement of failure. One participant openly talks of "the discouragement that's come from putting a real hard effort to attract and having been unsuccessful in doing that." Therefore, other options are looked at in a much more positive light. Whether discussing a French college in Toronto or a brokering system, one of the participant can see definite advantages.

> This college will offer in French, three quarters of the programs that we offer in English. They might be able to do that because of their 10 000 students compared to the 3 or 4 thousands that we have in the smaller areas. . . . And also kids are tending to be attracted to larger cities.

Participants allude to designation plans which a few colleges did prepare in order to obtain designation as agencies under the Act. As a direct impact of the Act, one could have expected a flurry of designation plans to emanate from existing "bilingual" institutions. One could have expected much discussions in terms of these plans. But designation plans are put on the back burner. Participants barely allude to these plans. One Ministry official provides a possible explanation to this phenomenon when he states that

> it was appropriate for us to look at the whole concept of a free standing college, or more than one. So we started addressing that issue which then effectively placed a lot of our designation work on hold so there hasn't been any major development in the terms and conditions of the guidelines for designation while we were looking at the concept of a 23rd college.

The search for solutions is seen by all as an evolving one. To quote a Ministry official, "It's simply evolution and now we're here, and that's not

necessarily the complete solution, we don't stop here. I don't know what the next six months will bring us or the next year."

A Change in Climate

Climate, attitude, those words keep recurring as all participants describe the impact of the French Language Services Act. To quote some of the participants "It's a climate that Bill 8's caused"; "It's going to bring about a change in attitudes in colleges."

All feel that the Act has definitely changed the attitudes of Francophones. All agree that the Act has created amongst Francophones a climate of confidence in the future and of expectations "that something significant is about to arrive." One participant believes that in terms of the Act "the most important thing is a heightened awareness, by the Francophone community that something better can happen. I think, probably it [the Act] provided confidence to some Francophones about the future they could have in terms of their own well being." This new found confidence, this new found hope leads to what is described by another participant as a "revitalization of energies". Francophone are now finding ways and means to achieve their ends. Faculty associations and managers' association are suddenly springing up.

> Chez les francophones en tout cas, une revitalisation des énergies. Une espèce d'excitement de ce qui s'en vient . . . Ça faisait des années déjà qu'on parlait de la formation d'une association de profs, cela ne s'était jamais fait. La minute que le débat a commencé à se polariser, les gens ont embarqué, ils ont trouvé la façon de trouver leur chemin dans la filière et de trouver les ressources financières pour le faire. Même chose chez les cadres, etc. Alors cela a été une revitalisation des énergies, une espèce d'espoir, de lueur à la fin du tunnel.

Some college presidents depict what they perceive as a downside to this change of attitude amongst Francophones. One describes the "why did it take so long syndrome" and extensively explores the negative implications. He contends that the raised expectations serve as a rallying point for all sources of dissatisfaction, that they act as a red herring that prevents the focusing on real issues within colleges.

> You have the high expectations. The expectations is there that there must be lots of money out there somewhere a hundred million. You know why aren't we doing that? People want to speed up processes, which you can't do, . . . there's a why did it take so long syndrome, and this gets exacerbated en français for the other reasons, it distorts things.

He also believes that a climate of high expectations not only makes Francophone staff unrealistic but can also have a long term negative impact on working relationships within the institution.

> This buggered up attitude. It caused a distortion of impressions. People's attitudes shift and you can't get it back. It caused some staff to think that the government or the college or whoever the authority is not providing the service that the government said was available. But the government hadn't said it would do all of the bloody things . . . so it ruins your relationships with staff.

Participants also examine the change of climate which has occurred around French language college education as a result of the Act. One President describes a negative impact of the Act when he talks of the loss of interest and enthusiasm of college staff which was partly due to the messages emanating from the Ministry around the implementation of the Act. "The message came out fairly loud and clearly that in all probability we would be losing our bilingual designation."

But all ministry officials, for their part, tend to see the change in climate in a much more positive light. They feel that colleges now truly believe that

"this will happen" this being the development of French language college education.

> There has been an attitude change as reflected by various efforts to develop designation plans. To develop and submit designation plans there have been someone described it to me recently as "conversions on the road to Damascus. It means that people who previously did not believe that this would ever happen in fact now believe it will happen and are acting accordingly.

Ministry officials contend that French language college education is now perceived and treated very differently by colleges because of the Act. The perception now exists within colleges that this is a "winner." A change of attitude has occurred.

> There has been in my mind a greater willingness to acknowledge the Francophone education that is going on, on the colleges' part and I guess in fairness to promote it as well. It has become seen as a winner, something where there are potential students to be educated, a new clientele to be served.

Many participants describe the climate of excitement, of high energy which the creation of a new college in the 1980's generates. More then twenty years after the creation of Ontario CAATs, one of the Presidents reminisces:

> It takes me back 22 years. Today we have the excitement in the creation of the 23rd college, in much the same way as we had the excitement certainly in my college area back in 66/67, creating a new college and charting new ground.

Ministry officials certainly concur. "Je pense qu'il y a une découverte de ces énergies-là, de ce renouvellement d'énergie parce que c'est une chance unique, ce n'est pas souvent qu'on a la chance de créer et d'avoir l'impression de contribuer." One only has to listen to their interviews, the choice of words and the tone of voice to feel the climate of high hopes, of excitement and of expectations. "My crystal ball hopes to see more innovation, my crystal ball hopes to see models . . . I see some fascinating possibilities in all this."

The We/They Configuration

Another important impact of the Act, which emerges mostly from the interviews with college presidents, is that of a we/they configuration. The "we/they" emerges as a complex web which pits Anglophones against Francophones, Francophones against Francophones, and "bilinguals" against "French only."

The French, English configuration, the picture of distinct separate worlds, is best exemplified by one of the President's use of pronouns found in the following excerpt [emphasis added]:

> It was a recommendation that I made to them arising out of the most recent input from our Advisory Committee which indicated that while the Francophone Community liked very much what we were proposing and saw that as a minimum that they would accept. They wanted a 23rd college. So our Board supported a resolution that we would, we would suspend our proposal and we would support the community in its desire to establish a campus.

Another President's emotional reaction, his shocked, surprised and disbelieving tone of voice as he tells the story of his cleaning lady provides yet another insight as to the French, English polarization. He is describing a reality which bears no similarity to his own, an underprivileged class with little hope of rising out of the ghetto.

> In that little community, they all speak French and so forth, they've not learned English as a second language. . . . Now they can speak a bit but they can't read it. I had a cleaning lady for years from that community and I used to leave her little notes and things until I found out that she simply could not read them. She had never learned it, now she could speak it but she could not read it. It was a real oh my gosh I thought.

Throughout all of the interviews, presidents repeatedly also allude to Francophones as "those folks" as "strangers who look you in the eyes", "the French", "The French people on the Task Force", " these people," "their own

people", "it's somebody over there that I never talk to", "these concerned with the rights of Francophones," and as "cracking the market."

Presidents highlight a logical consequence of the we/they configuration, that of a struggle. One in fact repeatedly uses the word "struggle" in discussing events preceding the creation of the French college: "we struggled with the creation" "that has been one of the things we have struggled with," "I have struggled with it."

A Francophone participant illustrates this dynamic of conflict. Talking about the preamble to the Act he squarely places the English/French relations in an adversarial stance when he describes how Francophones stood to gain when Anglophones failed to foresee an interpretation of the Act.

> Peut-être qu'au moment de l'introduction de la loi 8, si le mot "milieu" avait été écrit dans le préambule, peut-être que la loi 8 elle-même, et les critères et tout ce qui s'en est suivi, auraient été moins acceptés. Parce que les Anglophones et les dirigeants des institutions en place auraient peut-être vu venir de beaucoup plus loin, l'évolution du débat. Parce que le mot "milieu" n'était pas là mais qu'il était implicite et que le concept était inclus et pouvait être ressorti cela nous a peut-être favorisé finalement.

The presidents also describe the we/they configuration in terms of a power play. Anglophones presently are in power while Francophones are not. The presidents therefore are not receptive to sharing this power, they refuse to acknowledge that Francophones could hold power.

> My sense of the whole thing is power. You can't have a French administration from somewhere else coming into my college and telling me I don't need this, telling me it's going to offer these courses because it has got a French mandate.

One President wonders how the Act could have been passed, when "Anglophones quote were in power. I don't think there were any Francophones in power or given the power to deal with it."

The win/lose component, the "who decides" dynamic play an important part in the configuration. One of the Presidents talking about the Francophones on the Task Force states, "but what became evident was that these people were very concerned that unless they had full control of the services and so forth that the French were always going to get second best." Even the government decision to create a French language college did not necessarily eliminate the conflict. To quote participant, "it removed a lot of this French/English interplay and placed it elsewhere" indicating that participants believe the we/they is still alive and healthy in spite of the government's decision.

Whereas presidents describe an unresolved situation, one Ministry official gives an example of a resolved situation, a changed French/English dynamic, when he tells the story of the Francophone Affairs Branch of the Ministry. Because of the Act, Francophones and Anglophones have developed a partnership through mutual respect.

> J'ai vu des énergies et de la collaboration qu'on n'avait pas vu avant. Quand je suis arrivée au Ministère, les Affaires Francophones, c'était la plus petite unité, tout le temps en appendice du système. Le fait de penser à demander un collège de langue française et à faire les démarches pour que tout cela aboutisse au Cabinet, déjà cela nous a acquis un certain respect. De réussir à ce que le Cabinet nous donne son approbation de principe dans un premier temps, cela nous a acquis l'admiration et le respect.

Another facet of the we/they configuration can be found in the perception held by college presidents that a rift exists within the Francophone community, that there is a polarization between Francophone leadership and followers, between those that support a French college and others. One of participants articulates this perception of an isolated leadership when he states

that "I'm more worried about the impact on the Francophone community being split, those that are 'les radicaux et les autres.' . . . There's more anxiety in the Francophone ranks, for many of them view that those who are leading the trust are identified as les radicaux." Another President further describes this leadership which uses and manipulated followers.

> For those people who wanted a separate French college no matter what, . . . but certainly at the beginning it was a very small group. They're the ones that start utilizing the vacuum and the lack of action and the expectations to say that this is going to happen, that's not going to happen, and a network starts.

This conflict between those for and those against a French language college is brought to light when the same President recalls an event where those who believed in a French college were funded by a Francophone association to attend a provincial meeting and those that didn't were not. Reasons for this rift can be attributed to the differing ideologies of bilingualism, of integration versus separation. Presidents highlights the fact that some Francophones will want to stay at existing colleges while others will want to join the French college. And the we/they configuration will continue. One President discussing staff transfer to the French college states that "a significant number of Francophones in some areas because of the emphasis on bilingualism . . . want to stay with the institution that they worked with over the last twenty years . . . and not transfer." Another concurs, stating that they "talk to me in the sense that they would like to stay."

Yet another facet of this important impact can be found in the polarisation of Francophones versus "bilinguals." One of the participants brings up this complex question when he asks, "Where do the people who don't identify themselves as either Anglophone or Francophone [fit]? In my region

there are quite a number of people who would clearly see themselves as bilingual not pigeonholed on one side or the other." The above described configuration leads to an important question which is asked by yet another President: "What the hell's the definition of a Francophone?" He states that "depending on who you're talking to in the Francophone community you can get quite different perceptions of who is so called a legitimate Francophone." According to him this question will be crucial in the selection of the Board and in the transfer of staff. Many presidents wonder who will be admissible to what is described by one President as a "French college where everybody from the top administrator, to the floor pail was a French person." They warn of the danger that Francophone within the French college "don't become so exclusive, that nobody qualifies, and I can understand the natural tendency when you're starting a new college, we want to select our own." Searching for a solution to who could be perceived as a legitimate Francophone, one of the presidents toys with the metaphor of "cleansing" that he defines as a "washing through, a legitimizing process." He believes that self-selection and election by one's peer may be a solution.

> At the school board level there are four criteria for at least being able to self select as a Francophone. If you meet any of those criteria you can vote for a Francophone trustee, but in addition to that if you want to be a representative you are cleansed by being elected by your peers. If you have credibility that will be proven by your election and if you don't, you won't get elected.

Fewer/More Services

Because of the intent of the French Language Services Act in terms of providing services in French, three probable impacts on the level of services and of resources were to be expected. Colleges providing services in French

would get more funds and resources, Francophones would have access to more college programs and services and the Ministry (MCU) would provide more services in French.

When asked the question about additional funds and resources for colleges providing services in French, participants were unanimous in saying that "that hasn't happened at this point in our college," that "we have not got any additional resources to fund the college system," that "no, not because of Bill 8."

All agree nevertheless that the statu quo was maintained and that, in certain cases, there were limited additional resources. Whether or not these resources came as a direct result of the Act is still a bone of contention. Presidents believe that "actually it allowed us to continue what we planned to do in French" and that "There have been [funds] but I think that that would have come about without the Bill and it's not much."

Ministry officials and college presidents also concur that the Act has not yet brought about substantial changes in the actual level of French programs and services. Ministry officials attribute this to the advent of the new French language college.

> We were looking at the concept of a 23rd college so I would say because of that there haven't been major improvements, to a significant change in the level of services in Colleges. It hasn't brought about major changes in programs to clients.

Ministry officials nevertheless highlight an unexpected negative impact of the Act, the overall present decline of enrolment in French language programs which they attribute to a period of uncertainty within colleges.

Colleges did not know what would be decided in terms of French language activities.

> Mais tous subissaient quand même l'influence d'une période d'incertitude. Au niveau des chiffres, au niveau des bases d'étudiants si tu regardes les statistiques d'inscription, tous ont perdu. Il y a eu une perte de vitesse.

One Ministry official discusses a polarization of the designated colleges after the Act, with those who wanted to continue to offer French programs and those who wanted to get out the game. This situation is seen as having the potential to negatively impact French programming.

> À partir du moment où le ministère a circulé sa définition des critères de la Commission, il y a eu un ralliement psychologique qui s'est fait dans les collèges qui offraient déjà des services en français, il y avait six collèges, il y en a qui se sont dit "à partir du moment où on n'est plus dans la game, dans le prochain chapitre on n'y est plus, et on décroche, ou on maintient et on ne fait pas trop d'efforts pour maintenir" et il y a eu l'autre groupe qui a dit, "nous, nonobstant de ce qui s'en vient, on a déjà une base, on a déjà une gamme de services qui sont offerts et on va essayer de les maintenir".

Only one of the participants believes that the impact of the Act has been to significantly slow down the development of French programs and services in his college. He contends that the Ministry has indicated that his college will not be designated and that he and his staff are presently experiencing "a wait and see kind of situation." He believes this delay has been detrimental to the development of French language education in his area, as the Rip van Winkle analogy well illustrates.

> We're a bit like Rip van Winkle, we've got a little bit going on and we're sitting there and nobody's thinking about it because they are doing other things because nobody's asking us to do anything and all of a sudden we are being told to wait and see. While everybody goes to sleep, you're wasting interest, you waste resources, you waste the people, . . . and I think it's really unfortunate it's taking so long to get through the implementation stage.

Most of the other participants can see some positive change in terms of the development of French language programs and services. Presidents describe the increase in the number of French language program proposals, twenty one in one college, eight in another and five in yet another. One of the Presidents sums it up well when he says that the Act "provided at least something that looked like there might be more money. It provided impetus to . . . develop new program proposals."

One of the presidents describes another positive impact in terms of French language programs when he tells of the shift away from bilingual programming. The Act "helped us move off the bilingual programming into French programming . . . and I think the proposal has now gone through to convert the bilingual nursing program, bilingual behavioral sciences program to French programs."

Ministry officials also discuss a positive impact of the Act in terms of program development. They describe the new Ministry focus in terms of wanting to increase the breath of French language programming.

> If one took a pure count of programs there may be fewer but that only tells part of the story, the other part is the breadth of programming. What we're trying to do right now is to get that breadth expanded so that there are more different kinds of programs, that we are getting into areas that are needed in the community.

Finally and not surprisingly, participants confirm that the Act has brought about more French services at the Ministry of Colleges and Universities. "In terms of the ministry there's more publications in French, greater translation in material, more simultaneous publication, more recognition of getting the message out to the Francophone community, there is greater effort to hire Francophones."

Taking the Lead

Throughout the interviews, one witnesses a shift in leadership. With the advent of the Act, the driver has changed. Others are taking the lead, others are setting the agenda. Francophones within government, ministry officials and Francophones in the community and within existing colleges are mobilizing, are taking the lead. Anglophones within the community and in colleges, as well as college presidents, are choosing to sit back or are being relegated to the role of participants.

The story of the Task Force as told by all participants describes the leadership role of Francophones within government. The Task Force, which was comprised of the college presidents from the six designated colleges, of senior ministry officials and of senior Francophone government officials involved in the implementation of the Act, had been convened by the Ministry to look at the concept of designation of existing colleges. It had started out as "sitting around that table on the Task Force almost exclusively Anglophones dealing with, trying to do the best possible job for Francophones." One of the Presidents' describes well the shift of leadership which occurred.

> I found the Task Force extremely frustrating. I participated with the understanding that it was the job of Presidents to implement this bill and to make sure that we met the criterion. As we met more and more, [college presidents and Francophones] we drifted farther and farther apart. Then we didn't meet at all for three or four months and the next thing we know it's being announced that there's going to be a French language college. The more the chairperson sat there and listened the more he realized that the only thing that was really going to satisfy the French people on the Task Force was their own college, with their own French Board of Governors, so you know we haven't heard of the Task Force now for months.

Presidents unanimously view the whole Task Force process most negatively. This situation is a dramatic change in the way of doing business.

Presidents are used to playing a key role. They have a close relationship with ministry officials and are used to discussing issues on which they have been well briefed. Outsiders are usually not privy to such discussions. As one of them says, "We don't work that way". With anger in his voice, he explains that

> when the criteria were presented it was presented as if it came from the Ministry of Francophone Affairs, and the Commission and the Council on Franco-Ontarian Education this was a surprise I mean usually we don't work that way . . . that shouldn't have taken place. Well we usually know what's coming down, we don't get presented with something like that in front a group of people we don't even know. They [the ministry officials] mostly spoke to the Francophones on the Task Force. So when you're sitting there being dealt with in this way then it's clear to you, that its their [the Francophones] stuff. The government should not have done it that way. We're talking about a pattern of working and behaving O.K.

This situation is so unusual that many presidents, in speaking of the designation conditions, wonder at their legitimacy. "Whether this is a policy of the government of Ontario, or whether it's the policy of one Minister . . ., how do we know which it is, we'll never know." Another President points the finger and identifies the culprits when he muses, "I think that the French government bureaucracy . . ." To use the presidents' words, "The French people on the Task Force," "Grandmaître's ministry," "the Commission," "Godbout's bailiwick," "the poor fonctionnaires," they now hold the lead.

Certainly, all Presidents are left with the feeling that the ball is in another camp. They are convinced that Francophones within government have been instrumental in bringing about the Act and in influencing implementation decisions. To quote one President :

> Those who influenced the Act were aware of its potential, those who crafted it were not. I think that they (the conditions) may have been put together by people in various government ministries knowing what could

> happen and agreed to by people in the ministries who didn't know what was going to happen.

A Ministry Official confirms that Francophones have indeed taken the lead when he talks of the role of the French Language Commission. "La Commission voulait diriger, pas diriger mais 'steer', guider la réflexion dans la bonne direction."

Ministry officials, like their Francophone colleagues on the Task Force, also played a key role in shaping events. They also chose "to steer," to take the lead. This leadership role is key to understanding the aftermath of the Act. It undoubtedly contributed to the successful implementation of the Act. A Ministry Official gives a good example of the Ministry's role when he contrasts past and present practices.

> It seems to me that we're targeting better than in the past, the bilingual grants were given to the institutions and essentially once given they were forgotten about, . . . there is a recognition that something more is required, that if we are going to try and accomplish some things at a system level it's necessary that the ministry retain some funds over which it has some explicit direction . . . it's taking more of a leadership role in which we say, based on our knowledge and our contacts and our experience and our communication with the French community that these are things which are needed and that a college left on its own, might not otherwise be inclined to do.

Francophones within government and ministry officials are not the only ones to move into the driver's seat. One ministry official believes that Francophones within Ontario society and Francophones within community colleges were ready and able to play the necessary political roles. Having fought for other levels of the educational spectrum, Francophones were ready for the post-secondary. Having worked in community colleges, they were ready to lead their own institutions.

> La communauté en général et ses leaders se trouvaient soudainement libérés d'un agenda qui avait mené à terme la gestion scolaire. Dans les collèges, on avait déjà une certaine expertise, cela faisait déjà 10 ans que les 6 collèges bilingues existaient et il y avait déjà un certain réservoir de Francophones qui commençaient à voir la possibilité de prendre en charge leurs institutions. Puis la loi 8 est arrivée comme accélérateur. Il y avait une communauté qui était prête à prendre ce débat-là sous son aile et à le mener et tu avais la communauté collégiale qui était prête aussi à se positionner politiquement.

As many of the participants have said, "The time was right." In the East, "la population était prête, la population a vite embarqué là-dedans" and the Association of the Francophones of Ontario was "running around in the North."

Transition, a New Reality

Participants, throughout their interviews, describe a new reality with which they are trying to cope. They describe a transition period from what was the world of French language college education to a yet partly undefined future. The words, the language they use, provide us with a glimpse of this new reality. A new word, words with another connotation, words that need defining, French words, pervasive words, the Act seem to have influenced the way in which participants communicate. It would appear that the French Language Services Act has had a major impact on the vocabulary of all participants.

Many participants agree that "milieu" is a word that grew out of Bill 8. It is extensively used and is seen as vital to the preservation of language and culture. To quote a participant, "The overwhelming concern is the issue of milieu, it is an issue of provision of services in a milieu that is supportive both of the language development and of the culture."

A certain number of words seem to have acquired a different affective connotation with the advent of the French Language Services Act. Words like

bilingualism, integration, designation, which yesterday were perceived by all in a most positive light, have now acquired, in Francophone quarters, a negative connotation. Could this be a sign of that "new regime" which the Presidents allude to? One of the Presidents states that

> bilingual is not bad to me and I refuse to be pushed down by that word and I think Francophones are making a mistake by making that word a bad word, . . . Bill 8 allowed that to be articulated that bilingualism is assimilation and therefore it's bad.

A Ministry official talking about one college's response to the Act, mentions that "there is a more integrated kind of approach, one can't say that integrated is right and separated is wrong it depends on the individual institution within the community." A College President certainly shares the perception of a changed affective weight of the word "integrated" when he feels the need to clarify, "integrated not being a bad word, integrated meaning all the major services academically."

Presidents have not accepted the new regime and the word "separate" is used extensively by College Presidents in discussing a reality which they perceive negatively. They see nothing positive in "these people who wanted a separated French college", in "the separated French college thing really whom in our area was not discussed." A Ministry official highlights the sensitivity of the word when he says, "Some colleges have endeavoured to, separate isn't the right word, but to identify the French components."

The word "designation," again a word extensively used in the context of the Act, has also acquired a negative connotation. Presidents still perceive it very positively, "part of that process in the Act was designation, so we accepted that right away and asked for designation immediately." But a

Ministry Official is quick to point out that "très vite on a dépassé l'idée de la désignation." Another Ministry Official confirms that it is indeed a word about which few can feel neutral. "Designation now has a certain connotation, designation means essentially coexistence within a single institution, I can look back on it fairly neutrally because I wasn't part of it."

Another noteworthy aspect of language after the Act lies in the fact that certain words now need to be defined. There no longer exists a general consensus as to their meaning, as to what constitutes the "right" interpretation. This is especially true for college presidents. The reality has changed and familiar words may have changed meaning. As a College President states : "What the hell's the definition of a Francophone? I never did get an adequate answer, who was a Francophone?" Culture is yet another such word. Two Presidents comment, "Culture I think it's one of those nice words that's going around," and "I think that cultural preservation is a political euphemism bandied about." College Presidents acknowledge that words like "adequate," effective," "service" no longer hold a shared meaning.

> Adequate access, what does that mean? In Canada, within Canada, region to region what does effective mean? Does it mean quality or quantity? Some people will say that we have effective representation of Francophones on the agency's Board, you can get that with one or two people and you can't get it with ten. All argumentation.

On that same subject, another President adds, "It's a question of what's adequate, what's appropriate? . . . If you're a Francophone, it should be twelve out of twelve you know." Another President, with great frustration and hesitation, tries to define the word service: "It's always been what it means to me, it's depending what the organization is for, the college, service means, you get your services in French O.K.!"

This confusion, the perceived lack of clarity, is certainly very different from the position of ministry officials who feel a high degree of comfort with the meaning of the words which are now being used. "I think things like quality, accessibility, the range of service, continuity, I think those were workable concepts, that were not all that vague, they were generic."

Perception of what is "realistic" and "reasonable" varies greatly from presidents, to ministry officials. Ministry officials, talking about the designation conditions, state that "I think they're generally, they're pretty reasonable." This contrasts sharply with that of the Presidents. Presidents are convinced that the conditions were unrealistic. "Le 6-6 pour certains, c'était irréaliste parce que cela voulait dire une représentation surestimée par rapport à la proportion de la population francophone dans leur milieu."

Yet another glimpse of the reality of transition is provided by two of the Presidents who, in their interviews, regularly use French words. Their emphatic and emotional tone of voice when speaking French betrays a strong bonding to the Francophone reality. As an example one President, in discussing the French college, says (emphasis added), "Its normal because, dans une situation minoritaire, it doesn't mean a damn, it's a question of, nous sommes minoritaires, so, you can never do it, you can never do it." He also talks of "les radicaux et les autres" and he describes Anglophones' reaction to Francophones leaving the college, as "thank God, ils s'en vont la gang."

One last point related to language that permeates all the interviews is the heavy use that all participants make of words that are laden with feelings and emotions. As an example three college presidents keep alluding to "sensitivity" (emphasis added): "We have been very sensitive to the perception

that decision might be made by Anglophones"; "Because of the sensitivity of the French language as a minority language within the province"; "I think there's a great deal of sensitivity required in implementing the whatever framework is used"; "We're so sensitive about French language, that we intimidate people." "I'm appalled at the lack of sensitivity by the government in bringing this Act"; "We're sensitive to this, I'm sensitive to maybe what some Anglophones are saying."

Yet another example is the frequent use of the word "feeling" by many participants (emphasis added): "There was a strong feeling in the community that we needed the self-contained college . . . a feeling amongst professional educators that again it was the appropriate pedagogical response, a feeling amongst politicians that it was politically viable and a feeling within the Ministry that it was organizationally possible."

Summary

College presidents and ministry officials hold very different perceptions of the impacts of the French Language Services Act. They all discuss the search for a solution, the changed climate, the relationships, the level of French language services and resources and the leadership. The reality which they describe is generally presented most negatively by college presidents and most positively by ministry officials.

The decision to create a French college in the East is seen as the major impact of the Act. Ministry officials are enthusiastic. College presidents are more cautious. They discuss the possible pitfalls, and explore others options which could benefit Francophones elsewhere in Ontario.

All agree that the Act has changed the attitudes of Francophones as well as the whole climate around French language college education. Ministry officials talk of revitalized Francophones. They now describe French language college education as a winner. Some college presidents worry about the negative impact of unrealistic expectations and redirection of priorities on staff morale and relationships.

In terms of French language college education, the Act has brought about a shift in leadership. Francophones within government, ministry officials and Francophones within the community are playing a much greater role. Anglophones in the community and college presidents are mostly reacting to a chain of events over which they have little control.

The presidents' interviews highlight the separate, often conflicting worlds of Anglophones and Francophones, of Francophones for and of those against as French language college and of "real Francophones" versus that of "bilinguals".

On a more positive note, all participants agree that while the Act has not provided colleges with more funds and resources, it has generally had a positive impact in terms of French language program development.

The world, especially that of the college presidents, has changed. Many react very emotionally to this charge. Their very words attest to that. Certain words now need defining, others now have acquired a negative connotation. Words laden with feelings permeate many parts of the interviews.

CHAPTER 6 -- ISSUES ARISING FROM THE ACT AND ITS IMPACTS

Participants identify issues resulting directly from the impacts of the Act. These issues are perceived to be both system issues and issues that will most probably confront French language college education in Ontario in years to come. Four issues stand out. Participants ponder the future role of French language education and institutions, they question the adequacy of Francophone leadership, they wonder at the future relationship between Anglophones and Francophones and they discuss the French college's ability to become part of the Ontario college system.

Facing the Challenge

Both college presidents and ministry officials set high expectations for this new reality which the French Language Services Act has helped bring about. Whether it be the insistence of college presidents that French languages colleges must be different, or the optimistic enthusiasm of ministry officials when they describe the future role of French language college education, or the challenges that all participants describe as facing French language college education and the Ontario college system, all envisage much more than a change of address, much more than a French carbon copy of the 22 other colleges.

When one President sarcastically urges to "create the one, the wonderful new French college," he echoes a perception shared by other college presidents. This college can be like no other. "The French college in Ottawa will be bigger than anyone else in terms of French language education, it will be the driver." Presidents believe that it is important to "develop a first class different looking,

something that one can be really proud of, . . . a student campus that could be a flagship."

Presidents unanimously dwell on "la différence." The French college will need to be different if it is to preserve culture and language. Talking about cultural preservation, a President states that "if the Franco-Ontarians desire to preserve their culture . . . it will not do that within the context of an existing community college. A French one may do it. It will have to take a different path." When he mentions "even our sister province Quebec with the CEGEPs provide cultural preservation," he further highlights the difference by drawing a parallel between Quebec and the other provinces, between the French college and other Ontario colleges. A Ministry official concurs when he dreams that "the creation of an educational institution, their own educational institution will serve as a catalyst or even a nucleus for a cultural and social centre so there may be a revival or a flowering of French culture around this." In the same vein, another President emphasizes that "even the programming they offer, may be somewhat different given the Francophone reality." He goes on to say that "it's quite possible to see a greater range of general education subjects available possibly in a Francophone college than in an Anglophone college." Talking about preservation of language, a President describes the different standards needed in a French college: "I can have a Francophone or somebody whose first language is Chinese teach in English. On the other hand, I don't believe that it is acceptable to have that in a Francophone environment."

Two of the presidents go as far as to re-question the relevance of certain aspects of Ontario CAATs for French language college education when they suggest the possibility of university transfer programs and of program

rationalization. "The university transferring group may be necessary within the Francophone context when it is not necessary in the Anglophone. We have 15 universities available throughout the province." "Is every French language student who wants an education going to have to go to Ottawa, . . . you know part of the college system in the past has been commuter college, live at home and so forth."

College presidents, on occasion, succumb to the temptation to see the new French college as a panacea to present difficulties. They dream of more money: "The government's going to spend money on a French language college and to make it possible for anybody to go there." They dream of more French students: "The Francophone population in existing designated colleges will decrease in the next couple of years because more colleges are offering French programming. The kids won't come from the north. Now that may be recouped when they can study in a totally French environment." They dream of better English/French relationships: "I think that a successful French college will create a better relationship with an English college than within a bilingual one."

In the same vein, ministry officials perceive that this new era for French language education is a unique opportunity for innovation, for experimenting with new models, for a second start. They toy with the possibility of "university type programming," of a "college with more of a "skills training" "approach, with less focus an "buildings."

> I guess I see this as a chance to be far more creative and innovative than we have been in the past 20 years. . . . My crystal ball hopes to see models which are both better for the student and more interesting for the faculty and more relevant for the employer. . . . Here we have a chance with a group, and do it in a fairly significant way so that it's not just an

> add on to an existing system but in fact it is shown to be new system that can provide new college education.

They insist on the leadership role which French language college education could play when they describe how it could lead the system towards concepts of areas of specialization, how it could push colleges to cooperate and thus accelerate the trend towards shared resources and programming.

> It may also help us move towards concepts of areas of specialization, centres of excellence and here it would be in a linguistic sense, but I think it will accelerate the process which we are starting to embark upon. . . . I see the development of French language services as moving the college system in that direction and will help colleges, learn to deal with each other and will just accelerate the whole movement towards sharing of programming, sharing of resources.

They also see positive consequences for the Francophone community. One Ministry Official discusses the impact that a French college could have on the local Francophone economy in terms of possibly creating a generation of "entrepreneurs."

> Un impact positif que j'espère que cela aura pour les collèges de langue française c'est de créer une économie autour du collège. . . . Si en plus le collège de langue française se donne comme mandat d'accélérer ça en structurant ses programmes pour donner le goût à ces diplômés de devenir des employeurs. . . . Tu peux générer tout un espace de dynamisme économique qui pourrait mener, à la création de toute une génération d'entrepreneurs francophones.

All participants believe that one of the greatest challenge for the French college is that of increasing the participation rate of Francophones in college education. Two of the presidents identify increasing Francophones' participation rates as the main reason for their support of a French language college. One Ministry Official talks of destroying the correlation which Francophone teenagers make between studying in English and getting a job.

> Le défi majeur à relever c'est sûrement le bris du cercle vicieux qui est dans la tête des jeunes adolescents. Quand tu es adolescent, tu n'es pas

> sûr de toi, tu veux entrer sur le marché du travail, tu te dis "le marché du travail est anglophone, je veux m'insérer dans ce marché du travail-là, si j'étudie en français je ne connaîtrai pas les bonnes personnes, je ne connaîtrai peut-être pas la terminologie de mon emploi, mon diplôme va-t-il être pris au sérieux autant que celui venant d'un collège anglophone?

Both college presidents and ministry officials believe that college education in Ontario will be different because of the creation of a French college. "The fact that at least one institution will be totally in French will bring a different flavour to college education." One Ministry officials ponders that the College system may yet be changed by "ces bêtes différentes" which the new French colleges may well be. Certainly colleges for the first time will know restrictions in terms of their mandates. Historically, in Ontario, colleges were created via regulations which specified territory, name and Board. With the advent of French language colleges, the concept of territory will change from purely geographical to geographical and linguistic. What will be the impact? Only time will tell.

> En créant le collège de langue française, tu changes la notion de territoire, parce que présentement dans les collèges c'est une notion géographique qui prévaut. La province au complet est divisée en 22 régions. En ajoutant un 23e, tu introduis une notion géographique et linguistique, c'est un changement important parce que, présentement, les collèges anglophones ne se voient pas nécessairement comme restreints à offrir des services en anglais. . . . La notion de territoire géographique est utilisée partout. Dans la représentation du bureau des gouverneurs, dans la présentation des comités consultatifs, elle est utilisée dans le recrutement, dans la structuration d'un programme.

But presidents do warn that the system will have to be supportive of the difference and that this may not prove easy. "We've got to be careful, that the rest of the structure, the Council of Regents, the Ministry, etc., that we recognize there may be some differences and that we're supportive of this."

Francophone Leadership

Francophone leadership, as it was, as it is, as it should be, is much discussed by college presidents and is perceived as both a French language education issue and a system's issue.

Presidents, reminiscing about the past, tell the story of Francophones within their colleges, who shared a goal of extending French language services and who worked long and hard to attain this goal.

> We have been able to have our French language administrator who has been working out in the community, recruiting, who's really been trying to see if he can't pull other programs into the college and other courses who, also, is being in the French community and who is working with the advisory committee.

They also talk of shared values and of shared vision. One even describes how both he and his French leader had discussed a possible future partnership where both would be CEOs' of different colleges.

> He's a grand person. . . . He provided some kind of cohesion because he understood that no matter what's going on here, the most important thing is to serve the student, to keep the development going in the French area. He was seriously looking at a certain college we were talking about how we could really develop an English French partnership. Maybe we could work out mecanisms that normally we wouldn't be able to work out.

One has the perception that Francophones played a vital role in driving the extension of French language services. Talking about his college's small Francophone demographic base, one President lets slip that "I'm not saying that we should never have been designated but, I think, the Francophone administrator really felt that we would have a better drawing from the urban areas than we have." But, all presidents even while discussing Francophone leadership leave no doubt as to where the ultimate power and responsibility lies. One describes what was, through a "laundering" metaphor.

> Our Minister sent us the goals of education totally in English and so we wrote back to him in French saying "it would be nice if you sent us one in both languages." Well, to write the letter I had given it to a Francophone, I signed it and we sent it over to the Minister and we found out it had then gone down to somebody to be translated. So what was going on was, the two Francophones working this way and then laundering it to the two Anglophones at the top.

Two of the presidents discuss the present lack of Francophone leadership in their institutions and the difficulty in keeping Francophone leaders. One talks of the lone Francophone who is left fighting in his college and describes the general apathy shown by others. Nobody seems to care much.

> I would like to venture, nobody has written to the Minister saying "I think it's important that we keep this." I do have to say this that the lady on our board has worked very hard and she's talk to every committee that's possible within government and I think she will go to her grave fighting for the cause.

Another tells a story of the exodus of Francophone leaders from his college and of the difficulties encounted in trying to replace them.

> Unfortunately he decided to leave. Well there goes my leader for the French part of our operations, and timing wasn't very good. We needed some leadership and so I had to gather existing troops together and then a second Francophone leader surprisingly left, I don't know why. I still think it's incredible. So then we had to get some leadership in there, had to hire somebody, but that was tough . . . and it took us some time because there are not that many you know. We've got somebody in there now. But he's so damn new, that's a senior job, takes three years to get into it.

Two of the participants provide a possible reason for the present state of Francophone leadership. Francophones could see what was happening and had made a decision as to where they wanted to be. "Most people don't want to join a sinking boat, they want to be on a boat that's already sailing." All college presidents view present Francophone leadership within existing colleges somewhat negatively. They resent the double standards, they criticize the lack of management experience and they denigrate the fighters who cannot build.

With what appears to be resentment and bitterness in this tone of voice, one President makes an out-of-context comment about a Francophone CEO:

> The Franco leader, because he is Franco, doesn't have to do what the rest of the world has to do, and that is hiring bilingual people, which in some of these jobs are mostly Francophones. You understand the double standard that goes on.

He goes on to add:

> I guess we're sick and tired of listening to people talk all the time of trying to arrange something. I'm a little puzzled because they haven't managed anything. They don't know the problems it creates and therefore the attitudes. Fighting, winning is easy, making a success of what comes after, there lies the challenge.

Another President describes the Francophone "self-perceived leadership" which "has taken steps that in my view are not wise." Both presidents describe present Francophone leaders as irresponsible "radicals" who have not been sensitive to their membership and who are blinded by their desire for a French college.

> I will use the word fanatical. Those people I will denounce, they hurt, they're selfish, they're not going to take the high road and the high road is to embrace all Francophones. Because they don't, then my staff is . . ., cut in three . . . Fanatics are selfish.

Much advice is given by all college presidents as to what should constitutes appropriate Francophone leadership. "Sensitivity" is seen as key to successful leadership, as key to managing the present volatile situation. Francophone leadership must be sensitive and include all Francophones, not only those who espouse the cause of homogeneous French colleges. It must also show sensitivity in terms of the transfer of staff from existing colleges to the new college. But most importantly, presidents provide a strong warning to Francophone leaders when they address the issue of the "hypersensitivity about the French language." One President's story about his "caretakers"

illustrates the sorry reality of Franco-Ontarians who are often more comfortable in English then in French. Francophone leaders should be wary that they do not drive away their own.

> About four years ago we ran workshops, 5 or 6 small group discussions in French and probably 15 in English and, I discovered that all my caretakers and almost all my support staff, were participating in the English workshop even though their first language was French. They weren't going to subject themselves to the type of critical scrutiny, . . . that felt much more comfortable talking in broken English in an English milieu than they did talking in French.

In looking ahead, all presidents agree that the choice of the Chief Executive Officers of the new French colleges will be instrumental in determining the kind of relationship that these colleges will have with the rest of the college system. Talking about staff transfer to a new college one states that

> it will depend on the leadership that's provided the 23rd college, . . . it will depend most importantly on who is selected President of the 23rd college, because that person, and to a lesser extent the Chair and Board members will play a vital role in building the relationship with the rest of the college community.

Another adds, "Well, I think it depends upon who runs the institutions. . . . I would hope it would enrich us but it depends on the people, it depends who's carrying the message, if you get someone who wants to create waves." Looking ahead, a Ministry Official expresses the hope that a new form of Francophone leadership will come of age.

> I'm hoping . . . that we will see in Ontario far more Francophone leaders, breaking down the barriers of, them and us, that this will give the Francophone community the confidence it needs . . . the development of leaders without suspicion and that the word backlash will disappear, that people will recognize that this is another person who happens to speak a different language and has a different culture.

The New Regime -- French/English Relations

Many participants, both college presidents and ministry officials, allude to a "new regime," "the route to the 23rd," "a new way of doing business", while referring to the past as "the bilingual mode." All of them recognize that a new reality has emerged in French language college education. They extensively discuss numerous aspects the French/English configuration within the emerging reality. They hypothesize as to whether future relationships will be characterized by backlash. They suggest ways and means to ensure a harmonious relationship between the French and English.

Most participants would agree that there will be no significant negative impacts because of the creation of French language colleges in Ontario. A President sums it up well.

> By and large our Anglophone population in Canada is not comfortable dealing with the French fact and Francophones . . . but I don't think that there'll be any significant negative impact, I don't think so, I would hope it would enrich us.

All participants, nevertheless, at one time or another, allude to the possibility of backlash and repeatedly warn of dire consequences. Anti-Francophone associations are being created. To quote a President: "English-language nuts, crazies! You've seen reaction build over the Pentaguishine. . . . We see the development of an association in parts of eastern Ontario that is anti-francophone so that again is a negative." One President warns of "open warfare for placement" if a French language college is created.

> Now we keep the lid on, there's no competition. As soon as there is a separation, most of the employers still are Anglos. You get an Anglophone who graduated from a program, who can speak some

> French, he gets a certificate and he is in. So, I think the French graduate in an open market, will be disadvantaged.

Presidents link the possibility of backlash to a perception of inequity. If Anglophones perceive that they are being unfairly treated, resentment will build up and relationships will deteriorate. To quote one President,

> We have 6 students right now in our early childhood education program and we've run this for years trying to get the numbers up. . . . You can't have a teacher you know looking after three students when the other gal is looking after 25. There is a certain amount of resentment which doesn't help to build the feeling that we're doing something good, but rather why has she got it so easy when I've got it so hard you know.

Another aspect of equity which could become a bone of contention between the new French colleges and other colleges in years to come, revolves around funding. One President worries about the additional funding which the French college may get. "The French college will always have to be funded more, funding will be a problem, there will always be an agitation. Institutions will compare their level of funding. It doesn't bother me too much but I worry about the difference." Other participants predict a deterioration in French, English relations if the job security or job advancement of Anglophones is jeopardized. A President talks of

> what happens to existing employees who are not bilingual. That's of great concern to our support staff, a concern that we would in the future not hire anybody unless they were bilingual. What does that do me, I've got 20 years of services, am I going to get bumped out because there's a bilingual person who can come in right now.

Ministry officials discusses the potential win/lose aspects of this situation.

> Career path of people who appear to be a chair or a head or dean . . . but who aren't bilingual, fear that the lack of fluency in the first language will affect all of that, fears about the ability to function, fear that this cannot be a win win situation, so it now has to be a win or lose situation that for the Francophones to win the Anglophones must lose.

One of the presidents repeatedly alludes to the fact that Anglophones might be excluded from French language colleges. He predicts that a weeding out of Anglophones could bring about a strong backlash which could lead to Francophones being excluded from English colleges. Tit for tat.

> One of my concerns would be a backlash if it appears that on the one hand there are very stringent rules over here and only Francophones can be employed. Then the natural tendency is to create a backlash at the Anglophone institutions. Then the pressure is on that they only hire Anglophones and I think that would be very unfortunate.

Presidents also believe that backlash and negative reaction could occur if Anglophones believe that the Act is being shoved down their throats. Up to now, backlash has been avoided because Anglophones made the decisions and controlled the flow of events.

> Bill 8 has not impacted the attitudes of Anglophones, that was already in the works. For Francophones Bill 8 could have a negative impact because Anglophones were already doing things voluntarily because it was the right thing to do. It made sense for all the right reasons. Bill 8 comes along and says you have to do this and that and of course we're already doing that so people get maybe, slightly negative.

A Ministry Official discusses yet another aspect of the present situation when he describes the present "high risk approach" which the government has chosen to take.

> One of the risks is going to be that it won't be explained, that in the rush and the hurry and the anxiousness to get the Francophone side of it going, time will not be taken with the Anglophones, to help them understand what is being done and why it's being done. . . . The other approach where you did it so slowly that nobody really noticed, you didn't have to be so worried about that.

The forgotten Anglophones, many participants dwell on that aspect. They contend that the focus has been on the Francophone community and that little attention has been given to keeping Anglophones abreast, to making sure that

both Francophones and Anglophones evolve at the same pace. One of the presidents, speaking of Anglophones, comes to the conclusion that

> they're not plugged in anyway. . . . When separation occurs, that's when the unilingual Anglos in power will finally get on board, it will finally hit them, right now it's just kind of foreign to them. . . . It's still quiet. . . . The separate French college in our areas was not discussed, the Anglos don't seem to respond at all to that, probably thinking that's one of those aspiration things that keep coming up every once in a while.

Many of the participants warn of negative consequences if the situation goes undeeded and propose that time and energy need to be invested developing a better understanding of the Francophone reality amongst Anglophones. "There's got to be a tremendous amount of education of the Anglophone population to help them understand the importance of this for the French." A Ministry Official proposes that the Anglophone community should bear some responsibility in taking action.

> Somehow people must realize that this is a potential win win situation for everybody but again very little communication seems to developing around that kind of model, in some respects the Anglophone community has to carry, you know a fair share of . . . in terms of convincing their fellow folks, but if left unaddressed, their concerns can be beyond realms.

All participants in turn, reiterate the need for "sensitivity" and communications in dealing with French/English relations as previously described in the section on Francophone Leadership. They also share the hope of heightened understanding and strengthened relationships as was also extensively discussed in the section Facing the Challenge. But, a Ministry Official comes full circle when he states,

> I think the time is now, we've moved rather quickly, particularly in establishing a 23rd college, it was our feeling that if we're going to do it, we'd just better bite the bullet. . . . You know you just have to feel it and each situation is very different.

High Expectations

An issue, which may be an important one for French language college education in Ontario in years to come, is raised by a Ministry Official. None of the other participants allude to it. But, in view of the present climate within the Francophone community and of the type of attitudes and expectations of the Ministry in terms of French language education, it seems to warrant some attention. Participants describe exciting times for Francophones in Ontario, times which dreams are made of, times of hope, times for creating, times for building. Ministry officials particularly expand on this aspect. They talk of strong bonding and nurturing of this new arrival to the college system.

But a strong warning, which all should well need, is issued by one of the minority officials. The time of dreams will pass and the time for growing up will soon be here. The Ministry Official seems to be inciting Francophones to start getting their expectations lack to a manageable level, he seems to be inciting ministry officials to start preparing themselves to treat the new baby as a adult equal to the others.

> My concern is that expectations will get raised and they will get promoted perhaps beyond a level with which they can be met, and that after this has been in place for a while, any time there is an English service or an English program available, there will be an expectation that it should be matched and the economics will not be there, the demographics will not be there, and I think it will be very difficult for any community to accept. . . . Finding that balance and getting that appreciation is going to be difficult, it's not going to happen quickly and it's not going to happen in a quiet way. My sense is that we will have to go through a period of some soul searching and some turmoil and some saying no when your heart wants to say yes, right now is a very nice time to be involved but that growth period will come to an end and then the sort of hard reality of life, of matching expectations with reality that's, the time that I see, being tense.

Local Issues

Some of the participants also mentioned specific, more local issues that may develop in certain sectors of activities and in certain areas of Ontario as a result of the impacts of the Act.

Transferability of credits between the French college and other colleges is perceived as an issue because French programs have been touted as "different" from English program.

> There will be the issue of transfer of credits between institutions because the French language programs are not a translation of the English programs, they are different and so as you try to carry credits between institutions I mean it's bad enough between English institutions where the programs are supposedly the same, but it will be that much harder.

Yet another local issue which preoccupies both ministry officials and a college presidents is that of the transfer of staff from existing colleges to the new French College. All fear the possible negative consequences on staff which may be hurt by the whole process. To quote the Ministry official,

> I'm very worried about the faculty implications for the existing college. . . . We're going to change lives and there are going to be people disenfranchised, we're going to bring about major changes in their lives there may be a lot of people who do not want to be associated with the college and there may be that there are not programs to be associated with at the French college, we don't know what the outcome is going to be. . . . So that worries me, we have to find ways to ameliorate that, make sure that there's the least negative consequences but when all is said and done there are going to have to be people hurt by it.

Summary

All participants believe that the French Language Services Act will have far reacting consequences on Ontario college education. From very different perspectives, they discuss the future role of French language colleges and education in the college system, they examine Francophone leadership's ability to play a positive role and they debate the future state of French, English

relationships. One briefly discusses the need to manage present high expectations and a few discuss issues of local interest.

All participants set high expectations for both the French college and French language education. In turn, they perceive that it will preserve language and culture, increase access, innovate and play a leadership role, as well as change the face of Ontario college education. Can the challenge be met? The answer is yet to come.

Francophone leadership is another much discussed issue, especially by college presidents. While outlining the present strengths and weaknesses of Francophone leadership they stress the importance of sensitive positive leadership in terms of developing good relationships with the rest of the Ontario college system.

The state of French/English relations within the new reality constitutes an important preoccupation for many of the participants. Many fear the backlash of Anglophones who may perceive inequity, rejection and political cohersion. All reiterate the need for sensitivity and good communications in dealing with this issue.

CHAPTER 7 - REFLECTIONS

During what was at times a very long process, during what for me became a long trip within the very complex and different worlds of each participant as they in turn explored the interpretation of the Act, its impacts and the issues arising from the impact, three themes emerged: letting to, coming of age and living different stages at the same time. These permit a glimpse of the dynamics with which Ontario community colleges are having to contend.

Letting Go

The French Language Services Act has been a turning point for French language college education in Ontario. Since the 1960's, the thrust had been to extend French language services within existing institutions. Over the last twenty years, the six designated colleges had invested time, energy and resources to increase their level of services to Francophones. The four presidents interviewed repeatedly attested to their leadership role and commitment in developing French language services within their colleges. Nothing in the text of the French Language Services Act could have lead presidents to foresee the dramatic redirection which is occurring in French language college education. From the extension of French services within existing colleges, the government in less then a year has decided to create a first French college in Ontario and is seriously examining the possibility of creating additional French colleges. Presidents, as key players responsible for French language college education, are actively involved in this difficult

transition period but they no longer lead the way. The category Taking the Lead illustrates the shift of responsibility, the shift of leadership. It would be tempting, to interpret events as a power struggle between Anglophones and Francophones for the control of French language education. After all, students mean money, more students more money, less students, less money, all a question of power, of prestige and of influence. Certainly the history of French language education outside of Quebec has been that of a struggle of Francophones for the control of their own schools. The energy that presidents invest in finding a solution within existing institutions and the strength of the we/they configuration that comes out of all of the presidents' interviews point strongly in that direction. Presidents have lost or may yet lose control over French language college education. Francophones have won or may yet win control over French language college education.

But a closer analysis of the presidents' interviews sheds light on another interpretation of events. Undoubtedly, presidents are engaged in a win/lose situation. But they are also having to let go of an important component of their present institution. For most of the designated colleges, for all of the presidents interviewed, they are having to let their French programs go, their French staff go, the French aspect of their operation go. To quote a College President, "It's like seeing a youngster grow up and leave the house, and yet at the same time thinking, yes we've done a pretty good job and we'll carry it through."

Most presidents are experiencing very real difficulties in letting go. The clinging to the past, the strong feeling of responsibility for Francophones and

French language education, the feeling of loss and anger, all are part and parcel of a reality with which presidents are now contending. This reality which is never openly discussed, permeates all of the presidents' interviews. It can be glimpsed through their recollections of French language education within their institutions, through their perceptions of present events and their vision of the future of French language college education.

All presidents discuss extensively life before the Act. The past holds good memories for three of the presidents. The picture they paint is almost always positive, very infrequently negative. Good times are remembered, bad times forgotten. Looking back, presidents tell a story of support and of strong leadership. To quote a President,

> I have as the President tried to give the support from 1980, . . . to do as much as we could to encourage it and to encourage people to try and evolve a bilingual program. . . . There was great enthusiasm in 81 when we were trying to build it up and we had hundreds of people taking French as a second language in preparation and so forth.

Another President tells of "counselling Francophones" to set up French language program advisory committees. He remembers well how he had to convince them of the advantages of a setting up a parallel French structure reporting to French deans. Three of the presidents feel that "we were doing O.K., until Bill 8 came. . . . We were marching to a plan."

All presidents feel a need to defend their record, a record which I never questioned during the course of the interviews. They feel compelled to explain in great details how, for example,

> the vice president of Student Services is Francophone and the guy was born and raised in Quebec, his two degrees are in French, his mother is French, his old man is an Anglo but the whole point is he's a bloody

> Francophone, the Director of athletics is a Francophone, Registrar is Francophone, career placement and planning Director is Francophone.

The difficulty of letting go, the desire to keep things as they were, is ever present during the presidents' interviews. Designation of colleges as agencies offering services in French may be a concept of the past but some presidents are still discussing it. "If we had done nothing at the college and applied for designation, in the end we would have gotten it." In the East, when a decision to create a French college has been made, the two presidents still discuss a continuum of solutions. Talking about the French college, one of presidents still would choose the bilingual option, still thinks that his college could have done a better job.

> At the same time, that's not the one and only solution, I think that all of us see a continuum of solutions . . . that doesn't preclude bilingual institutions and in fact as I say, we struggled with the creation of one. . . . And maybe I'm a bit biased I still think we could have done a better job.

All presidents strongly believe that even with the advent of a French college, many of the Francophone staff will remain at their colleges. This certainly is a most reassuring thought if one clings to the past, if one is uncertain about the future.

> I think of some of the people who have provided some of the strongest leadership in my own college and probably would want to stay with our college and I would not like to see that kind of tension created so I think there's a great deal of sensitivity required in the implementation . . . and yet those people, many of them may want to stay with the institution they worked with over the last twenty years and not transfer.

The strength of the feeling to keep things as they were is best exemplified by the President who, in his concluding statement, in response to a question

about whether he wished to stress or reiterate anything in the context of Bill 8 said, "I'm really going after the Francophone community one by one."

Cutting the umbilical cord has not yet occurred. Letting go has not yet been achieved by presidents. Throughout their interviews, they still continue to express a sense of strong on going of ownership and responsibility of both their Francophone staff and French language college education. Presidents display much attachment to Francophones working within their respective colleges. Throughout presidents make use of possessives in talking about Francophones, "my leader," "our visage français," "our Francophone committee," "our [French] community," "our Francophones in the South." All exhibit much protectiveness, much care, much "sensitivity" in terms of their Francophone staff. They are very concerned about the future of their Francophone employees. One President expresses a generally held feeling when he says,

> I also think that some Francophones quarters are a bit frantic making a lot of people anxious, "well what is going to happen to me?" I don't like that. . . . They talk to me in the sense that they would like to stay. . . . I am more worried about that, you know that worries me, somebody should go around and talk to those Francophones and say "look it, we are going to do well in the French college, don't worry."

All four presidents react negatively and with wariness to the decisions being taken for French language college education. Even the President, who admits failure in terms of the capacity of his college to offer French programs, still possessively warns that "our Francophones . . . will need services."

For all presidents, letting go is a painful process. Throughout their interviews, they all communicate, though never explicitly, strong feelings of

loss. One President reminisces quite emotionally about Francophone staff and board members,

> We worked together over, almost 20 years I guess. . . . We all go back a long ways and I think first and foremost, a fundamental respect for each other and so, Wednesday night after we passed the resolution of the board initially, I think there was sadness.

Many presidents speak of the sadness which they feel as a result of the redirection of French language college education. Talking about a project to set up a French campus, one of the eastern presidents describes the decision to set up a French college. "It's in sadness, because we all struggled very hard to bring it about." Alluding to the French Language Services Act, another states that "the saddest part of it all is that they took the least care."

Disappointment, anger, hurt and shock are also part of the process of letting go. Presidents have not yet accepted that they will probably no longer be responsible for French language college education. They are shocked with the speed at which events have occurred. To quote a President,

> Well I didn't think that it would be that quick, I mean I thought of it a long time ago how I was going to address this. I didn't think it would happen that quickly. That to take place in a government in less than a year is phenomenal, but it's amazing.

Presidents' interviews overall proved to be more difficult to analyze than ministry officials in spite of their shorter length. Whereas ministry officials analyzed the multiple facets of a question, presidents were much more emotional, much more rambling. Muttered words, long pauses, unfinished sentences, vague allusions, alternating tone of voices expressed the whole gamut of emotions felt by presidents. The subject at hand touched all very deeply. The subject was imminently personal. A large part of these negative

emotions can be attributed to their sense of loss, their sense of having been dispossessed. One of the Presidents for example uses strong language and an angry tone when discussing the loss of two of his French leaders.

> There goes my leader. . . . He buggered off is the word. . . . Surprisingly left, I don't know why, I still think it's incredible. . . . I was rather surprised when he upped and left, well O.K., I was very disappointed and I gave him shit for walking out on me.

Another discussing provincial planning of French programs says, "It's all sorts of hews and cries about being a community college and blah, blah, blah."

The theme of letting go provides an important insight into present events in that it permits an understanding of a reality which is certainly more complex then it first appears. Presidents are not only motivated by power. Events cannot be entirely explained by the we/they configuration, the power struggle, the win/lose aspect. Over the last twenty years, the presidents interviewed have been involved in, have played a leadership role and in most cases have nurtured, protected and developed French language college education. And now, within less than a year, they are being told that all this is finished. Enter the "new regime," Ontario is taking "the route to the 23rd." In this context, it is far from surprising that presidents would still feel ownership and responsibility for French language education. The strong negative emotions now find an explanation. For presidents, the understanding of this very personal, very human factors motivating their behaviour, their opinions, their decisions, could prove important in coming to terms with their strong negative feelings, with their feelings of being dispossessed. The four presidents have played an important role in French language college education

for more than 20 years. They now need to put the past in its proper perspective, they need to see the achievements and the failures, they need to see past events as part of a continuum that hopefully will lead to the full provision of French language college education in Ontario. They have not failed and they are not, as a consequence, being dispossessed. The past was a necessary step to a successful future. This understanding of events, this untangling of negative emotions is vital if presidents are to become partners and supporters of the new French language colleges, if they are to successfully make the transition from a parent to a peer relationship. Presidents still have a role to play in French language college education. To quote one of the presidents,

> Now I think the responsibility of all us then is to make sure that the decision that is made is right in fact. So the time for second guessing is over and everybody has got to get in there and make sure that we succeed. Hopefully we will continue to be supportive of the development of, or the expansion of French language education, even the ones who are no longer you know directly involved.

The four presidents interviewed are best placed to support the new French language institutions in their integration within the Ontario system of colleges. They not only understand but they also emphatize with its reality. They can be instrumental is fostering an acceptance within the Ontario college system of the differences, the special needs and the raisons d'être of this new creature.

This insight is also important for Francophones in that it places the present dynamic in a more humane context. The anger, the opposition to what Francophones perceive as being vital to their survival, is perhaps not a strategy to annihilate, to integrate and to win. This is perhaps not a replay of the

Plains of Abraham. Anglophones may not be the blackest of enemies they have been made out to be. They may prove an invaluable ally for the future. If French language college education is to continue to thrive and develop in Ontario it will need the commitment and support of a partner who understands its reality. For that to occur, trust must exist.

A Coming of Age

Another insight which may prove important in understanding present events is that of the coming of age of Francophones. Francophones have, since the creation of colleges, been part of Ontario college education. They have been looked after, others have decided for them. According to the political whim of the day and to the particular interest of the local decision-maker, they have followed and been thankful or they have struggled and fought. But the language and spirit of the French Language Services Act has changed this reality. The categories dealing with the Legal Entrenchment of Francophone Rights and the Preservation of Language and Culture attest to the fact that all participants in their interpretation not only understand the Act to be a legal entrenchment of Francophone rights but also stress the importance of the spirit of the Act which wished to preserve French language and culture in Ontario. For Francophones in Ontario, a new era has begun. A Ministry Official describes this emerging reality as

> a recognition that these values and these culture can contribute something to a society. . . . I see this phase emerging that there is a recognition of not just the people receiving the services in the French language, but that there is in fact a potential for the French culture, for French values, to impact on the rather broader sphere than pure service delivery would indicate.

He goes on to describe this reality from the Francophones' perspective as "a desire to be part of call it, mainstream society, not always to be regarded somehow as one of them when there is a desire to be, to use the jargon, empowered."

A Francophone Ministry Official speaks of the creation of French institutions as the moment when we will exist. "Les partenaires anglophones vont apprendre à nous respecter à partir du moment où on va exister, à partir du moment où on va exister bien et de façon, de qualité égale." There are many signs of the "moment où on va exister." Suddenly Francophones are an important part of college life. In the six designated colleges, Francophones are being appointed to senior positions. Participants tell of recent appointments where Francophones have been named president and vice-president, where a Franco-Ontarian has just been voted in as Chairman of the Board. One participant reflects that "it's perhaps an involving of Francophones more in the mainstream."

Presidents, for their part, highlight Francophone participation in most laudatory terms. They tell of a "very strong Francophone on our Board" of a Francophone leader who is a "grand person" of a new vice-president who was a "senior civil servant who's used to making decisions," of a Board member "who's very active in the . . . area and has been an active member of our Francophone Advisory Committee" and of Francophone staff members who are "very, very well respected long-time members of the college community."

Francophones' comments and opinions now matter. One of the presidents takes the time to write to the President of a Francophone association who has criticized him.

> I wrote a letter to . . . because he made some kind of comment that I didn't care for much, it had to do with that whole thing and it wasn't at the meeting it was in another context, but I did write a letter.

Francophone radicals are deemed to be worthy of notice. Three of the presidents repeatedly denounce them as "self-perceived radicals" and as "selfish fanatics."

The role of Francophone in the power structure has already started to change. The story of the Task Force provides a good example of the leadership role of Francophones and of their impact on the decision making process. Francophones are now in the mainstream, they are active players on the central stage of things. One of the presidents describes the evolution in status of a Francophone advisory committee which used to report to a campus principal and that now, with the advent of the Act, reports directly to the Board and is chaired by a Board member. Another President discusses the role and decision making responsibilities of the future President of the new French college as well as his participation in the Committee of Ontario college presidents. These examples offer a starting contrast to the "laundering metaphor" previously described in the We/They category.

Being able to speak French is perceived by three presidents as important. To quote one of the presidents,

> Yes! And I think you're seeing, well a significant move by a number of people in the Ministry to acquire second language skills and so I think you're going to see more of us at least comfortable in the French

> language. I'm far from feeling comfortable in terms of speaking it but I'm certainly far more comfortable now sitting in a meeting and being altogether getting a sense of it totally in French. I've participated recently in a number of meetings that have been totally in French. Now I come away exhausted and always have to lean over to a friend and say, did I understand that right, but at least we're getting there.

Ministry officials bring yet another perspective to this whole question of Francophones' coming of age. French language college education will now fit in the provincial scheme of things. Results are important and funds will be accordingly allocated and targeted. To quote a Ministry Official.

> And there is a recognition that it has to work. . . . Not that we're just trying harder, not that it's just a process thing but that there is a more of a results focus. One can think of a number of areas in life which simply doing more is considered adequate, but in the really important things in life it is the results and the belief that what you're doing is right and my sense of it is that more and more people are . . . I mean the point I'm trying to make is that they now accept that getting the results in terms of having students come in and students succeed, having the students contribute to the economic welfare of the province is more important, that this is not just group that can be wrapped up. . . . Well the Ministry itself made a commitment to spend 42 million dollars. . . . The message that comes through from us is primarily financial, what are we putting money into, where are we targeting money.

Ministry officials, throughout their interviews, indicate that the Ontario government is now committed to this redirection of French language college education and that all the "signals are there" that the signals have been sent out to colleges and to the Ontario community. Legislation, Minister's speeches, negotiations with the Federal government for funding, creation of a designation committee, all signals have been clearly sent out. In the same thrust, one Ministry Official even tells of a strategy to include Francophones in the mainstream of the Ministry.

> My major concern goes back to this issue of not gettoizing the Francophone, we do not want them to be hired to be professional

> Francophones, I want them hired to do a series of things, in the finance area, in the staff relations area, in any other area of operational services so what I'm doing is I'm doing a form of cross appointment in which not only are they members of the French language services unit, but they are also developing an experience. . . . If my fondest wish comes true some day the French fact will be so ingrained in our culture that it will no longer be required and that people will automatically handle, and what I'm doing now is beginning to prepare the Francophones that I have working for me to go out and do that kind of thing rather than being in a small little group by themselves and in fact become more pervasive than ever in terms of scope and range.

Many sections in Chapter 4 attest to the importance of the present theme. One has but to look at the energy and the time invested in Search of a solution, one has but to remember the leadership role which ministry officials foresee for French language college education, one has but to witness the vehemence of the we/they configuration.

In terms of French language college education, the focus has been displaced. From the bilingual mode, from Anglophones doing their best for Francophones, from the "French speaking" responding to the needs of Francophones, enter a "new regime," French only, by and for Francophones, with French language irrevocably linked to French culture. The world which one of the presidents laughingly describes as "You know you all sound very much like you're reading a cereal box when you try to use the language and it's very frustrating to the student" seems to be drawing to an end. The demise of what yet another President calls the "Christian charity approach" seems eminent.

But new challenges await the "new regime." Francophones are finally being given the control of their own institutions. French language colleges are now being created. They will be 23rd, 24th or 25th CAATS but they will also

be the first French colleges. As such, they will have to deal and to respond to the very high expectations of the French community. The temptation will be there to turn inwards, to select real Franco-Ontarians, whatever that may be, to weed out the non-believers, the "bilinguals," the "French-speaking." With each "new regime" there exists the danger of a pendulum swing. To quote the presidents, "Will they embrace" or will they exclude and reject? Time will tell. One would hope that the new institutions could both serve their community and open up to external influences. If French colleges are to play a leadership role in the economic, social and cultural development of the Ontario Francophone community, they will have to meet the challenge of both remaining faithful to their raison d'être and letting go of the past. They will need to look outwards to a future with a diversity of partners.

The challenge will lie in the ability of the "new regime" not to be ghettoized, in its ability not to reproduce the minority attitude of the last twenty years and in its ability to play a genuine role within the Ontario college system. It will require a shift in attitude, a different way of seeing thing. To develop "une attitude majoritaire," to throw away the weight of the past, to create in function of present needs, what a challenge! French language college education may have been allowed in the mainstream, but it will need to consolidate its acquired position. And that can only be done by what one President defines as a "successful college." To quote one of the participants, "Dépendant de ce qu'ils font et de comment ils le font, ils seront, soit vu comme un ghetto, soit vu comme des gens qui sont aussi compétents et qui sont capables d'arriver à des résultats équivalents." The challenge will be to

deliver the results. And again to quote a President, "That will not be easy, but it will be done."

Learning to deal with an equal partner, that will be yet another challenge for both Francophones and Anglophones. Unlearning patterns that have taken twenty years to develop is never easy. For Francophones it will mean evolving from radical to leader, from fighter to builder. For Anglophones it will mean shifting from leader to supporter from parent to partner. For both it will mean resolving the we/they dynamic and becoming a "we." One would hope, looking in one's crystal ball ten, twenty years down, that this participant's musing could come true:

> There may be some fascinating opportunities for the Anglophones to become more sensitive with the Francophones, not just the, for years the Francophones have been sensitized to the Anglophones this maybe a chance for us to work the other way.

Different Stages at the Same Time

A road not taken An insight, which emerges very clearly from the analysis of the data, is that of social change. One of the presidents introduces this theme when he says: I'll always remember André Laurendeau who said that "Canada is at different stages at the same time" and so was the Eastern college.

And, one might add, so is Ontario as it pertains to French language college education. Presidents, ministry officials and Francophones, all hold very different views of its priorities, its role and its place in the Ontario system. Interestingly all participants link present events in terms of French

language college education in Ontario to their view of Canada. To quote one of the presidents,

> I believe that we are a two language country and I think that the opportunity should be there for people to have instruction in their own language. I also strongly believe that to be effective all of our students should be really getting instruction in both languages so that they can function anywhere in Canada in future jobs. . . . And I think that if children right from elementary school up, have the opportunity where it's just as natural for them to learn a second language as a first then they have something that will serve them throughout their lifetime. I think Canada is trying very hard to be recognized for its bilinguilism. I don't think the emphasis should just be on the French students having something in their own language I think they need to have something in the English language. I2have think the English students should be having facility in the French language.

All presidents express strong misgivings in terms of the new direction occurring in French language college education. They believe that present decisions could negatively impact the present reality of Canadian society. One sets the stage when he states that "by and large our Anglophone population in Canada is not comfortable dealing with the French fact and Francophones." Presidents, in turn, warn of the dangers of creating separate French language institutions. They fear that the segregation may further exacerbate the "two solitudes." They are convinced that cohabitation is vital to maintaining the present texture of Canadian society, that it is vital to the evolving of a better "understanding amongst the French and English so that we live together better." They fear that as a society, we will lose the ground that we have gained. The following President emotionally describes the advantages of integration.

> If we really want to integrate our communities and have my 12 board members understand the French in my community better than they do, sending a few students off to Ottawa is never going to do that, it's only

> as they become involved in our advisory committees and they become involved in other communities, in the college, we have our Francophone reps on the board those are excellent ways. That's the only way we're really going to integrate some of those attitudes.

Nevertheless, the majority of participants express hope in terms of the future. They perceive the possibility of perhaps an "enhanced bilingualism." In this context, bilingualism is taken to mean the harmonious and productive cohabitation of Francophones and Anglophones. A Ministry Official sums up the point of view of many of the participants when he explains how the concept of separate French language institutions may in fact lead to "an ultimate expression of the bilingual theories," how two equal partners may be an essential prerequite to achieving a truly bilingual society within Ontario.

> In a sense it is an ultimate expression of the bilingual theories as opposed to, creating a separate world of Francophones within the world of Ontario, the policy says in order for the Francophone minority to have the confidence, to have the cultural identity with which to deal with Anglophones in Ontario on a partnership, on an equal basis, they need to feel that their culture and their community is valued and is preserved and that you cannot create a bilingual community from a superior, inferior relationship but ultimately you create a bilingual society by a partnership and that this in fact ultimately provides the Francophone community, the French speaking community with the basis from which they can feel equal to join in that partnership, because I believe that ultimately it should be something which brings us together not pulls us apart.

Participants believe that "you can never do it" with a "nous sommes minoritaires" attitude and that as long "as you're struggling to gain hold of something that preoccupies you" you cannot "get on with the reality of working together."

Most participants stress the fact that this vision of one country, two languages, two cultures, is ultimately a question of choice. Both partners must

believe in its value, both partners must want to be part of it. Many rationally understand that separate French language institutions should not jeopardize the vision.

> Ultimately bilingualism is an issue of attitude that before you can feel part of something, you have to have an attitude that you want to be a part of something. I look at my family as an example, each person is an individual person, each person has their own wishes and desires values and so on and yet there is a wish to be a part of something greater. There is no reason that because I go to a different hospital or a different school that I can not feel and have in common a belief in some higher values of democracy, and higher values of participation, of peace order and goodwill, of the other higher values which draws me together as a Canadian, as an Ontarian.

But the dream dies hard and even as hopes are expressed for a better future, presidents emotionally still indicate a desire for the statu quo. "I'm not too sure that the Act intended that the delivery of those services be entirely in French everywhere." Most support the establishment of a French language college. "Yet at the same time that's not the one and only solution, I think that all of us see a continuing of solutions . . . ah that doesn't preclude bilingual institutions." Many presidents express the hope that present events are but a necessary step to the coming about of their vision of bilingualism. To quote one, "I'm a strong believer in bilingual education. . . . Maybe down the road in the distant future we can do it but it's a different stage at the same time."

A Ministry Official provides an important perspective when he makes the link between events presently occurring in Ontario and those taking place on the Canadian scene.

> On est bien les reflets de son temps. Le bilinguisme à la Trudeau c'était finalement l'optique du Ministère jusqu'à l'année passée. Le lac Meech,

> l'accord du lac Meech a amené dans l'histoire du Canada une nouvelle perspective du bilinguisme. C'est un bilinguisme avec institutions indépendantes, autonomes, menant à l'harmonie des deux peuples fondateurs parce qu'ils ont accès aux mêmes moyens. C'est un bilinguisme séparé. Ce n'est pas un bilinguisme institutionnel et ce qu'on voit se passer présentement dans le monde des collèges, c'est un petit peu le reflet du lac Meech, c'est une société indépendante, égale mais différente.

A leap of faith A Ministry Official describes the decision to go with a French college as "the next leap into faith . . . a leap of faith, I should say." Certainly the redirection of French language college education has touched most participants in "their guts." They cannot deal with present events as yet another problem to be solved. The present situation impacts on the fundamental beliefs and the value system of participants. As with the theme of letting go, emotions tend to run rampant. Participants' strong words and emotions often go beyond the realm of the logical and of the reasonable. For both college presidents and ministry officials, time spent dealing with events has been quite overwhelming. One states that he has "spend 40% of my time working on their activity," another reminds himself that "it becomes a preoccupation and you lose perspective. . . . There are other things that still have to be attended to." There is virtually a consensus that "great care" must be taken and "great sensitivity" must be shown in dealing with decisions pertaining to French language college education. As an example, one of the presidents constantly stresses his need "to be careful". Amongst others, "I've got to be careful here, I don't know exactly what took place"; "I've got to be careful here, because I've learned that people use"; "I've got to be careful with

these, because I don't go and do surveys"; "I've got to be careful, I don't mind"; "I've got to be careful where I say this to."

A President, talking about the French Language Services Act and its impacts, sums up the point of view of all presidents when he states:

> It has to be done with care and actually the saddest part of it all is that they took the least care. . . . this has to do with language and culture, I'm appalled at the lack of sensitivity by the government in bringing this Act.

The theme provides a different perspective through which one may further understand the changed reality which the French Language Services Act has brought about. For all participants, the debate surrounding the creation of a French language college and the future decisions concerning French language education takes on major proportions because of the implications in terms of their vision of what should constitute Canadian society. They fear the consequences of the road not taken, they find the leap of faith being asked of them difficult to make.

To quote one President, "Two people living together harmoniously," that seems to be a value shared by most, if not all, participants. Participants may disagree on strategies but they always agree on the ultimate goal. They all subscribe viscerally to a two people, two language, two culture Canada. Underlying all the interviews is a fear that a value may be undermined, that its existence may be jeopardized. The energy put into a Search for a Solution, the anger at the "bad" Act, the virulence of the we/they confrontation, the defending the record, the relative unimportance given to immediate additional services and resources, the story of the Task Force, the new language of Bill 8,

all in very different ways attest to this. The new option may fail, the other way may have been better and so, encouragements, warnings, hopes, threats, regrets, nostalgia, are part and parcel of the present reality of all participants. What is the right way, what is the best way? What road should French language college education take? Brokering, college without walls, separate French college, bilingual education, separate wing, integration, separate campus, participants explored many roads, few shared the same preference. Certainly with college presidents, the fear of the road not taken and of its consequences constitutes a vital aspect of the present dynamic. Is a very fundamental value being threatened on route to the 23rd? None asked the question, all should have! Very much like the story of Alice in Wonderland when she asks the Cat, "Sir, could you show me the way?" and the Cat answers "Where do you want to go?" To which she says "I don't know." And he concludes "In that case, all directions are good."

The deeper understanding of the worlds of the participants which this last insight has provided, leads me to reflects on two different points. The whole debate around bilingualism and the distinct society which presently permeates all levels of Canadian society could perhaps benefit from yet another perspective which this study highlights. Francophones see their very survival threatened by insensitive Anglophones who neither value nor understand their basic needs. Anglophones see themselves rejected by uncaring Francophones who wish to build walls around themselves and who spurn all contact with them. And yet the reality may be that of preserving language and culture in order to be more productive partners, it maybe that of Anglophones wanting

to preserve a way of life. This study perhaps permits one to view present demands of Francophones as a necessary next step, as a continuum rather than an end or a beginning. It perhaps permits one to view the resistance of Anglophones as a desire to safeguard a way of life. This study puts forward the view that the recognition of the distinct needs of a distinct group may not toll the death of a two founding people Canada, that it may perhaps bring about a more mature relationship between two people.

This insight could also prove instrumental in diffusing a potentially explosive situation between the various players involved in French language college education in Ontario. As with Alice and the cat, participants have discussed directions but appear not to have discussed where it is they want to go. Are their goals the same? Do they merely differ on the means? All seven participants appear unanimous in terms of their vision of Canadian society and in terms of the goals of French language college education. And yet the conflict, the resistance and the negative emotions permeate all of the presidents' interviews. And yet all ministry officials attest to the difficulty of implementing decisions emanating from the Act. Fighting over the means, tripping over logistics while never discussing the ends, that may be one of the greatest trap for all decision-makers. One would hope that this study could not only point out the importance of value clarification but also incite any who wish to implement an effective and productive change process to start with an indepth analysis of the values at hand.

Overall Issues

The French Language Services Act has served as a catalyst that has transformed French language college education in Ontario. A new era has begun. The Ontario college system will now have French language CAATS. And they will be different, different in that they will serve a specific clientele which linguistically and culturally differs from that of the 22 other CAATS. But they will also share fundamental characteristics with the other 22 colleges, they will have had the same raisons d'être. Dennison (1984), when he speaks of colleges as democratizing agents, as closely allied to the labour market, as an instrument of political change and as a community resource, could well be explaining the raisons d'être of French colleges. Were French colleges not created to increase accessibility to post-secondary education, to become an important tool in the cultural, social and economic development of Franco-Ontarians and to involve them in the mainstream of Ontario's economic development needs? French language colleges share many affinities with their English counterparts and as such have much to gain by taking their place within a system of colleges. But that will require what one of the participants describes as "leadership without fear." It will require a coming of age for Francophones, where they no longer fear the overwhelming influence of the large English majority, where they can deal as equals and as partners.

French CAATS will not only have much to gain from the experience and the historical memory of other CAATS, they will also have much to give. While "Canada's colleges are no longer young" (Levin & Dennison, 1989, p. 56), the French colleges are just being created. They are creatures of the

90's. They will have been weaned on the buzz words of partnership, articulation, access to success. They are also the embodiment of a strong community's will to survive. As such, their first years should be characterized by commitment, vitality, energy, creativity and an openness to community needs. Ontario colleges, if they can let go, if they can shift from parent figure to peer figure, could benefit from this injection of young blood.

For Canadian community colleges, surviving the 90's will not be easy, Dennison states that "while colleges remain essentially on the path which guided them in their earliest years, this path has become increasingly narrow, more uphill and more precipitous then in the past" (1985, p. 57). Colleges are undergoing change. Their close relationships with regional governments, their dependence on the latter for fiscal support has "limited their autonomy and ability to respond to community need" (pp. 42, 43). Remaining true to their original goals while adapting to current realities is proving to be quite a challenge for colleges. Ontario colleges, if they choose to recognize it, may hold a trump card that could facilitate their surviving the 90's. By its commitment, energy and enthusiasm, the French colleges may help the system to shape a better future.

But the 90's will not prove easy for these new institutions. Dennison and Levin (1988), discussing Canadian community colleges, allude to three distinctive phases of development. The first, between 1955 and 1970, "was characterized by autonomy, diversity of curriculum and virtually unbridled expansion." Then "consolidation and restraint became the key phrases" and finally "the eighties have become years of retrenchment and constraint"

(pp. 50-51). French colleges, in their first years, will instinctively yearn for the first phase of development described by Dennison and Levin. Their raisons d'être and youth will push them to want to increase and diversify clientele, to want to develop new courses and programs, to try many new approaches. They will be tempted to be all things to their community. For them, the challenge will be twofold. If they are, as all other colleges, to survive the 90's they will have to define their mandate, identify values, set goals and objectives and develop strategies. They will need to drive a tight ship, to show much realism in a period of high elation and high expectations. They will need strong leadership that will tightly steer, while being careful to feed the initial fire that drives the community.

Future Research

This study has attempted to present the worlds of both college presidents and ministry officials as they live the impacts of the French Language Services Act on college education in Ontario. The Act, the situation of colleges in Ontario and the world of Francophone minorities outside of Quebec, have been explored in an attempt to grasp the context behind present events. All participants have explored the interpretations of the Act, its impacts and the issues flowing from the impacts. Rigorous methodology has permitted a glimpse at deeper meanings of these realities which in the future could prove useful for those involved with French language college education.

French language education at the elementary and secondary levels in Canada has been extensively studied over the last decades, but apart from a few major studies, Stacey Churchill's being one of them, little is known in

terms of French language college education. Most writers tend to assume that the data emanating from studies done at the elementary and secondary levels must be partly transferable to the post-secondary. What are the impacts of mixed schools, and of French schools on minority students at the college level? That question has yet to be fully answered.

More studies are also needed in terms of Canadian community colleges. When one does literature searches in this area, a very limited number of names crops up again and again. The literature tells us that if colleges are to remain relevant, the 90's will require a new way of doing things, new, innovative approaches to teaching and student services, better staff relations, a much more outward focus and the development of true partnerships. If that is so, all colleges will need to better understand their own reality and that of others. They will need answers to question on impact of public policy on colleges, on the effects of funding on access, quality education, staff morale and capacity to innovate, on the effects of increased constraints on flexibility.

More research on French language post-secondary education outside of Quebec, more research on Canadian community colleges, these seem the necessary next steps.

Postscript

The data for the thesis was collected in 1989. Three years have since elapsed. Canada is in the midst of yet another, this time more serious, constitutional crisis. Much has failed, a referendum is impending in Quebec. Emotions and conflicts run rampant.

In Ontario, the new French college, La Cité collégiale, is in its second year of operation. It is generally perceived as having been very successful. In September 1993, 2600 full term students are expected to register in 70 postsecondary programs spanning the Technology, Health, Business and Applied Arts sectors. La Cité has already developed and offered a number of new programs in the skills area, thus providing training to new clienteles. Amongst others the unemployed, women re-entering the work force, adults needing retraining are now for the first time accessing French language apprenticeship, Technician and Technologist as well as continuing education programs. Approximately 4000 will have been trained in 1991-1992. La Cité has managed, very creatively in certain cases, to implement successfully some of the priorities of the Ontario government.

Francophones have shown that, given the opportunity, they can be very effective partners in a global strategy. No other French language college have yet been created in Ontario. A commission set up by the Ontario government recommended more than a year the creation of two additional community colleges for the North and the South. The Francophone community is aggressively lobbying for their creation. Situations very similar to those which lead to the creation of La Cité collégiale still exist.

Discussions around the creation of a French language university as well as those dealing with the involvement of Francophones as partners in the new proposed training infrastructure OTAB (Ontario Training and Adjustment Board) yet other examples of the difficulties with which both Anglophones and Francophones are faced when attempting any type of cooperative venture.

More than ever, both in Ontario and in Canada, the themes which have been explored seem relevant. As Canadians and as Ontarians we have yet to learn to effectively live together.

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Appendix A

Interview Guide

1. The interpretation of the French Language Services Act 1986.

   - meaning of "to guarantee services in French"
   - meaning of the preamble
   - comments on the designation criteria

2. Impacts of the French Language Services Act on French language college education

   - programs
   - governance
   - funding
   - student services
   - relationships
   - student life

   a) since November 1986

   b) future impacts

3. Issues arising from the impacts of the Act

   - programs
   - governance
   - funding
   - student services
   - relationships

   - for colleges
   - for the college system
   - for French language college
   - education